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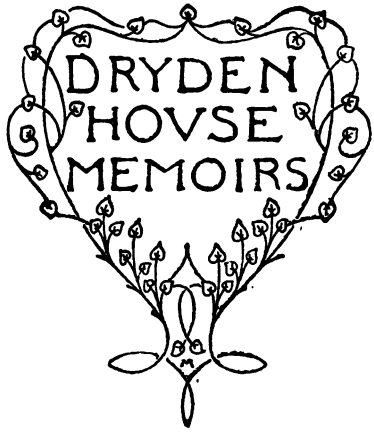
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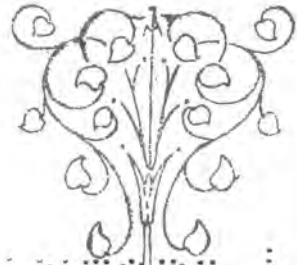

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Sir John Reresby, Bart. (1634–1689)

THE MEMOIRS AND TRAVELS

OF

SIR JOHN RERESBY, BART.

EDITED BY

ALBERT IVATT, M.A.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE present text is a reprint of the volume issued in 1813 as "*The Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reresby, Bart.* The former containing Anecdotes, and Secret History, of the Courts of Charles II. and James II. The latter (now first published) exhibiting a view of the Governments and Society in the Principal States and Courts of Europe during the time of Cromwell's usurpation. London: Printed for Edward Jeffery, Pall Mall, and J. Rodwell, New Bond Street." The editor of the 1813 volume speaks, in his preface, of "receiving from the liberal hand of Christopher Hodges, Esq. of Bramdean, in Hants, a present of the *Travels of Sir John Reresby*, in a fair manuscript of the time of the Author, and very probably written by his own hand, which Mr. Hodges purchased out of the library of Mr. Topham Beauclerk. The Editor, having now prefixed these Travels to the Memoirs, offers to the public a volume which may not improperly be called the Works of Sir John Reresby, as it includes all that he is known to have written." This 1813 edition was issued in two forms, one of which was illustrated with portraits and views, plain and coloured. Its index is much fuller in respect of the Travels, then first published, than of the Memoirs, which had first appeared in 1734, and therefore, in the present issue, the index has been divided

into two parts, the "copious" one which was "added" to the re-impression dated 1735 having been used for the Memoirs, and the later one for the Travels. The title-page of the first edition reads thus:—"*The Memoirs of the Honourable Sir John Reresby, Bart., and last Governor of York.* Containing several Private and Remarkable Transactions, from the Restoration to the Revolution Inclusively. Published from his Original Manuscript. London: Printed for Samuel Harding, Bookseller on the Pavement in St. Martin's Lane, 1734. Price 4s. 6d. bound." In the copies dated 1735 the words "to which is added a Copious Index" take the place of "Published . . . . Manuscript." The Preface to the original edition is as follows:—

PREFACE

To insist on the Value of Works of this Nature, when they come from Men of real Knowledge and Understanding, were only to repeat what the wisest Men have often said for us. The Reader, we believe, will be convinced that Sir John *was a Person very equal to the Task he undertook; and having such Opportunities of prying, as it were, into the Hearts of the greatest Ministers and Princes of his Time, it had been unpardonable in him to have refrained from communicating the many Important Matters he so assuredly knew. The Reader will, we hope, find in him an Impartiality rarely met with in Writers, who have been, like him, of a Party; for being a Man of the strictest Honour, and nicest Conscience, he it seems thought it as unjust not to applaud an Enemy for any good he had done, as weak not to accuse a Friend when, through human Frailty, he happened to deserve it. This, and what goes before, might be sufficient to bespeak the Reader in his Favour, even tho' he had related no Fact but such as had been an hundred Times repeated before this Appearance of his*

Book; but as he abounds with Things new, or what is the same, with Matters known to very few living, and which will much assist us in forming a right Idea of the Times he lived in, he must claim a greater Share of Attention. But we will now leave Sir John *to plead his own Cause, and shall only add, that we flatter our selves with the Approbation of the Public, for our thus retrieving him from the Recesses of Privacy.*

In 1875, Mr. James J. Cartwright, M.A. Cantab., of H.M. Public Record Office, author of *Chapters of Yorkshire History*, published through Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. an edition of the *Memoirs* "edited from the original manuscript." In the preface to this edition (which is now out of print) Mr. Cartwright intimated that he had restored matter that had been omitted from the first edition. This was chiefly of an autobiographic nature, and, through the kindness of Mrs. Cartwright and of Messrs. Longmans & Co., it has been possible to make use of a few passages of Mr. Cartwright's transcription of the MS. in the preparation of the biographical note which follows.

Effect has been given in the notes to a few errata, printed at the end of the 1735 volume, and apparently omitted by the editor of the 1813 text: a few other textual errors have been similarly noted there rather than in the text. It would be well for the reader to bear in mind that he is reading Memoirs originally published before the change in the calendar was made, and at a time when the year was calculated to end on March 25.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

"I was born," says Sir John,* "April 14th, Anno Domini 1634, between seven and eight in the morning, in the great chamber of Thrybergh Hall, in the West Riding of the county of York; the first son of Sir John Reresby, Bart., by Frances his wife, daughter of Edmond Yarburgh of Snaith Hall, Esquire."

He came of an old Derbyshire family who inherited the manor of Thrybergh during the reign of Henry III. His father was a fellow-commoner of Jesus College, Cambridge, where three years were spent, until he was called home to take up the management of the family estate on the death of his father, Sir George Reresby. The writer of the *Memoirs* speaks of Sir John as wavering in his love of hawks and beagles, but "ever constant to his garden." He died of a surfeit of oysters in April 1646, soon after his return home from London, from an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the conflicting claims of his estate and his conscience in the troubles of the Civil War, and the son adds, "I remember (though I was then but twelve years old) that he desired my mother not to trouble herself that he had not succeeded in his business, since he was returned with this comfort both to her and himself—of bringing with him a safe conscience."

* Cartwright, p. 21.

John Reresby had the misfortune to disjoint his left knee at two years old, and this, because of concealment and neglect, was never properly reduced, but he records, "Being active, by exercise (as I grew up), it became nearly as useful to me as the other." When his father died at the early age of thirty-five, he was left with four brothers and a sister, under the care of an affectionate mother, who was also burdened with a heavy debt upon the estates. His mother must have been a careful manager, for when her eldest boy was fifteen she "had paid my father's debt."

Of his brothers and sisters he says: "I cannot omit giving thanks to Almighty God for disposing and enabling them to behave themselves so well in their respective stations in this world: a mercy not only to themselves but to me also, who am concerned from affection as well as relation in their good fortune."

About this time the family left their country house and went to live in London. His mother, he further relates, "was then about thirty-four years of age, and very handsome." A few years after she contracted a second marriage with one James Moyser, Esq., whom he also describes as "a very handsome gentleman, but of an indifferent fortune."

From the age of eight years, Sir John was a great lover of music, and he became very proficient in playing the violin. In London, he and his brother Edmond were sent to school in Whitefriars, where he very soon found the disadvantage of having been educated at home. He says, "I soon found many boys much younger than myself were better scholars." At Whitefriars, however, and at Enfield Chace, he made up for lost time, and, by the age of seventeen, he had became fairly proficient in Greek, Latin, French and rhetoric. "The only defect of the school was scarcity of diet, which was none to me, my master's sister (that took a particular kindness to me) repairing that want by suffering me to eat when

I was pleased." In the autumn of 1651 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, under Dr. Duport, the College Tutor, but he relates, "The College not being willing to allow me the rank and privilege of a nobleman, by reason of an ordinance, whereby all persons upon whom the King had conferred any honour after his leaving the Parliament, and his going to Oxford, were to be degraded, my mother rather advised me to go to London, there to be admitted of Gray's Inn, which I did accordingly." In London, he escaped much of the debauchery of the times, although he admits he was not "the most stanch man in the world," and he spent some portion of each day in "study, and the exercises of music and dancing." He seems, however, to have felt severely the want of some able governor of his studies, and, self-dissatisfaction creeping on, he set forth on his travels at the early age of twenty. The record of his journeyings will be found in the following pages, and it is needless to enlarge upon it here, beyond taking note of the interesting fact that in Paris he met the lady who afterwards married Philibert, Comte de Grammont, the author of the *Memoirs of the Court of Charles II.* He liked Elizabeth Hamilton so well "that after she came with her mother to England, as she did soon after, I had probably married her, had not my friends strongly opposed it, she being a papist, and her fortune not being great at present." He also met Dr. Cosin, later Bishop of Durham, who "took great pains to confirm" him "in the Protestant religion."

In 1665, his mother, though desirous that he should take unto himself a lady of higher degree, consented to his marrying Mistress Frances Browne, daughter of William Browne, of the city of York, after seeing which lady, he "had no disposition to make application to others." They were married at St. Dunstan's Church on the 9th of March 1665, "my wife's fortune not £1200, and my estate, in present portion, only Thry-

bergh." Efforts had been made in the winter of 1660 to bring him and Elizabeth Hamilton together again, "but after the sight of Mistress Browne, I could not return to that application."

His fortunes improved when he was appointed High Sheriff of the county, though there were many drawbacks and expenses connected with his fees and perquisites.

"The gaoler gave me £160 to have the custody of the gaol. I had the same sum presented me for the county court, and I made of the bailiwicks about £145, in all about £465 besides the profits of the seal, which made the whole near £1200; but the charges of both assizes, salaries to officers, liveries and equipages, took off so much that I cannot say I saved clear £200, all charges considered. . . . .

"The assizes were appointed this year [1667] in March. I took a house in the Minster yard, where I entertained all comers for ten days together; my friends sent me 'twixt two hundred and three hundred liveries. I kept two coaches, one for myself, another for my undersheriff, had my own violins there all the assizes, and gave a ball and entertainment to all the ladies of the town. These assizes cost me 300 and odd pounds." The summer assizes seem to have cost him a similar sum of money.

Other offices followed, as detailed in the *Memoirs*: the governorship of Scarborough, and later that of York (1682). In the intervals of official work, and when not in town, these years find him busily engaged in improving his estate, and in applying himself (1673) "to the study and exercise of the office of justice of the peace, and had so much business that my clerk confessed that he made above forty pounds that year of his place." His mother, "a woman of incomparable wit, judgment, beauty and of great piety and conduct," had died in 1668, and in 1675 we find him elected member for Aldborough, it need hardly be said as a supporter of the

Court. He "kept a great Christmas that year. There dined with me on New Year's Day 300 people at the least." Ever jealous of the virtues of his kinsfolk and connections, in 1681 he "caused a monument to be erected for my wife's father in Coney Street Church: an eminent man of the law in his time, and ever reputed a very honest lawyer, which is not very usual." His appointment as Governor of York in 1682 marks the summit of his official career: the record for May 10 of that year, with pardonable pride, runs thus: "That day I took the oaths as governor of York, and justice of the peace within the liberty of St. Peter in York. I was in all those commissions at that time, viz.: as governor of York, governor of Burlington, captain of a troop of horse in the West Riding of the county of York, justice of the peace for that riding, for Middlesex, for Westminster, and the liberty of St. Peter within the city of York; as also deputy lieutenant for the West Riding."

The Christmas of that year was kept at Thrybergh in the good old-fashioned English way, "with great mirth and ceremony." "Sunday being Christmas Eve, I invited all the poorer sort of my tenants of Denby and Hooton, being nineteen in number. On Christmas Day the poorer sort of Thrybergh, Brinsford, and Mexborough, being twenty-six. On St. Stephen's Day all the farmers and better sort of tenants of Thrybergh, Brinsford, and Rotherham, being in all fifty-four. On St. John's Day all the chief tenants of Denby, Hooton, and Mexborough, being in number forty-five.

"On the 30th of December there were invited to dine with me eighteen gentlemen and their wives from several parts of the neighbourhood. On the 1st of January were invited sixteen more gentlemen; on the 3rd, twenty others; on the 4th, twelve of the neighbouring clergy, and on the 6th, seven gentlemen and tradesmen of Rotherham and other places. . . . . For music, I had

two violins and a bass from Doncaster that wore my livery, that played well for the country; two bagpipes for the common people; a trumpeter and a drummer. The expense of liquor, both of wine and others, was considerable, as well as of other provisions; and my friends appeared well satisfied."

The story of the remainder of Sir John's days, and indeed of much that fills with matter of high moment the bare outlines given above, will be found in the *Memoirs* that follow. One more personal detail may be given, recorded, doubtless, for the posterity of his own family, "for whom this work is chiefly designed." Under date May 16, 1682, he writes: "Being Whitsun Monday and Rotherham fair day, I went in the afternoon to the sign of the Swan, to receive my rent of one penny—a rent reserved upon the sale by my predecessors of that house some 400 hundred years since, with the best room and stable to the use of the heir of the family upon Rotherham fair day."

According to the monument in the chancel of the parish church of Thrybergh, Sir John Reresby died on May 12, 1689. It will be noted that the *Memoirs* end abruptly early in May: they were written to within a week of his apparently sudden death. His wife died ten years later, on the 11th of May, having borne him five sons and four daughters. William, the eldest son, did not inherit his father's wisdom: he ruined and sold the estate, and died in want, "a tapster in the Fleet prison." His youngest son, Leonard, seems, in the end, to have succeeded to the baronetcy, and on his death at the age of sixty-nine, on August 16, 1748, the direct male line of a noble and ancient house ends.

TRAVELS OF SIR JOHN RERESBY

I LEFT England in that unhappy time when honesty was reputed a crime, religion superstition, loyalty treason; when subjects were governors, servants masters, and no gentleman assured of any thing he possessed; the least jealousy of disaffection to the late erected commonwealth being offence sufficient to endanger the forfeiture of his estate, the only laws in force being those of the sword.

This posture of affairs so changed the face of home, that to live there appeared worse than banishment; which caused most of our youth (especially such whose families had adhered to the late king) to travel; amongst others myself. I embarked at Rye, April the 25th, 1654, with one Mr. Leach (an expelled fellow of Maudlin College for his loyalty), whom I took with me; from whence we arrived safe at Dieppe, in Normandy, in four and twenty hours, though boarded by the way by an Ostender, who, finding nothing aboard of contraband, gave us leave to pursue our journey without injury. The next day we came to Rouen, the first city of that province, and second in France, both for wealth and beauty, though Lyons

disputes the pre-eminence with it unjustly. It stands low, the river Seine passing through it, bearing thus far vessels of one hundred and fifty tons. Formerly it had over it a fair stone bridge, till being broken by the English in the wars with France, it hath since been supplied with one (scarce elsewhere seen) of flat boats chained together, there experienced both convenient and lasting, for its rising and falling with the tide.

The greatest church was built by the English, and dedicated to our Lady. In it, on the right hand of the high altar, lies buried John Duke of Bedford, regent of France in the time of Henry the Sixth, under a mean monument for so great a prince; which, when Lewis the Eleventh of France was advised to deface, he worthily replied, that he would not disquiet the person, when dead, whom all France could not repel whilst he lived. In this steeple hangs the greatest bell in all France, betwixt ten and eleven yards in circuit. To this town belongs a court of parliament, established by Lewis the Twelfth, in the year 1501, which sounds no more in France than a court of judicature, like our Westminster Hall, for the hearing and determining of all causes, whether civil or criminal, within its own limits. But of this I shall forbear to speak further till I come to that of Paris, because of first institution and greatest privilege.

That which we call a parliament in England was, when in use amongst the French, called an assembly of the three estates, or *Conventus Ordinum;* which are, first, the clergy; secondly, the nobility and gentry; thirdly, the plebeians, or *tiers état.* These convoked, had a great authority; peace or war could not be made without their consent; and in some cases they disposed of the crown itself (as appears by their electing Pepin and Hugues Capet to the sovereignty, and their deposing Childeric) in case of a king's incapacity to *govern,* either by some natural defect or absence.

They have appointed regents, as Charles the First, whilst he was dauphin, his father King John being then prisoner in England. This was he that was taken by Edward the Black Prince at the battle of Poictiers, 1350, and sent over to Edward the Third, his father, into England, to bear company with the King of Scots, at the same time prisoner in the Tower.

But because of these three estates, or members, consisteth the whole body of that nation (whereof the king is the head), give me leave to describe them more particularly: as to the first, *scilicet*, the clergy, hath many privileges; they pay no subsidies, more than a tenth to the king, which they only term and allow as a charitable contribution; their prelates (whether archbishops or bishops) claim being of the king's privy council, and of the council of state, though it is said they have no right of session in either, except particularly called to it by the king.

Their yearly revenue is computed worth three hundred and twenty millions of livres, of pounds sterling twenty-four millions. The number of bishoprics are one hundred and eleven, of archbishoprics fifteen. The king hath power to nominate such as are elected into them, to whom (when allowed by the pope) they swear fealty, laying their hands upon their breasts, as the laymen swear with them joined.

The second estate, which is the nobility or gentry (for in France they make no distinction), enjoys many immunities and exemptions; they pay no taxes or impost whatever. They are petty princes within the limits of their own seigniories or lordships, not only disposing of the estates and persons of their tenants at their wills, but sometimes of their lives; many, by virtue of their tenures, having *haute et basse justice*, or power to hang, draw, and quarter, within themselves. They of this estate are, first, the princes of the blood; secondly, the dukes and peers; thirdly, the officers of

the crown (of which more hereafter); fourthly, *les chevaliers des ordres du roy*, or knights of the order; of which (though there have been formerly several) the only one that remains in reputation is that of the Holy Ghost, which is never conferred upon any without they receive first the order of Saint Michael.

That of the Holy Ghost was instituted by Henry the Third, in the year 1579, and stinted to the number of thirty-six knights; but now they are increased to a far greater, Lewis the Thirteenth making no fewer than fifty at one time. Fifthly, the governors of provinces and towns, which signify in effect what the dukes and earls once did, every province being formerly commanded by a duke and twelve counts or earls, who were subject to the duke, as now the governors of garrisons and towers are to the governors of the province. Above all these there was (according to the old institution) a chief duke, or Duke of France, who was also termed major of the palace: so eminent a place, that Hugues Capet, the last of them, stepped out of it into the throne.

These governments seem of late to have been hereditary, many leaving them to their children, others refusing to resign them into the king's hands (till compelled to it) if not upon a valuable consideration. Sixthly, *la petite noblesse*, or the lesser sort of gentry.

The last, or third estate, are the commons or plebeians, which compriseth those of the long robe, or the gown-men; of whom I may say, as to the peasants, they are certainly the most miserable, slavish people in the world; which occasioned Charles, the fifth emperor, in his character of European princes, to style the King of France, *Rex Asinorum*, his subjects not being less passive than that sluggish animal, under those weighty burthens imposed upon them.

The way of convoking these estates was this:—the king issued out his writs to the governors of the pro-

vinces, to give notice to the principal towns to call together the three estates within the several divisions; of which one was chosen of each to send to the provincial assembly, held for the election of three out of them all, to represent, in the grand assembly, the three estates of the whole province.

The kings of France are now too absolute to use this way of advising with their subjects, consulting only their own wills, which they have always a standing army ready to execute. This so overawes the common people, that they dare scarce so much as reflect on their past liberties; and yet it would seem impossible for a king so to govern, did he not by the same way raise and engage to himself the gentry, that he depresseth the commonalty; first rendering the privileges granted to the gentry more considerable, by denying them to those of meaner quality. Some he obligeth by making them receivers of the taxes, others by giving them commands in his garrisons and armies: in fine, himself is the channel through which flow all the streams of favour and reward to such as he would fix to his own interest, whilst the poor countryman sinks under the weight of his oppression.

But to my journey from Rouen.—I went by the messenger to Paris, who, according to the custom of that country, furnisheth passengers with meat, drink, lodging, carriage, and all other accommodation for so far as you contract to go with him, at a reasonable rate (though not very cleanly, yet a convenient way of travelling for strangers). Some few leagues from Rouen we passed by Saint Germain, one of the King of France's best houses, built by Charles the Fifth, but much beautified by Henry the Fourth. Near unto it stands another, built by Francis the First, called Madrid, to evade his engagement to Charles, the fifth emperor, who had taken him prisoner, and after giving him liberty, upon his engagement to return to Madrid, if

he could not accomplish such terms as were agreed on betwixt them for his release; which not being able to do, he made this, and came to it, instead of returning into Spain.

Two leagues from Paris we came to Saint Dennis, though no great town, yet very considerable for having in it the richest abbey and one of the fairest churches in France, dedicated to the tutelar saint of that kingdom.

Here lie buried the French kings, though in mean tombs, in comparison of those of ours at Westminster. These are supplied by a rich treasury of gold and silver plate, as chalices, censers, bowls, flaggons, crucifixes, and crowns, richly carved and set with jewels of great value. Amongst others, I saw a ruby as large as a walnut, valued at fifty thousand crowns; all which have been legacies left to the abbey by such kings and great persons as have been there buried. Here they show you likewise the sword of the *Pucelle* of Orleans, which they tell you drove the English out of France; that of Charles the Great; a claw of a griffin as big as a cow's horn; with other such-like reliques. But those held in most veneration by them are some true drops of our Saviour's blood, some of our Lady's milk, a piece of the true cross, some of John the Baptist's bones (if you will believe it), and a consecrated wafer besprinkled with drops of blood, which, they tell you, it bled, on being wounded with a pen-knife by a heretic that would not believe it the transubstantiated body and blood of our Lord; *cum multis aliis.*

Leaving Saint Dennis, we went towards Paris, which is two leagues distant (a league being about two English miles). We observed, at about a quarter of a league distant one from another, several fair stone crosses; in every one of which places, zealous tradition persuades people that St. Dennis sat down to rest himself in his miraculous journey from Paris, after he was beheaded, as far as the abbey, carrying his head in his hand all

the way, where at last he fell down and was buried, which gave name to that place.

Paris, I must confess (although an Englishman), is the largest, fairest, and most populous city of all those I have seen in Europe (London not excepted), having twelve miles in compass, abounding with all things which can either render a town commodious or pleasant. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, calleth it *Lutætia* (*quasi luto sita*); but it stands in a fruitful soil, upon the river Seine, within the Isle of France; so called from its being surrounded with that river on one side and several less rivulets on the other.

The ancient inhabitants of this province were the Vangions, till, the year of our Lord four hundred and twenty, a people of Germany, called Franchi, expelled them; and, seating themselves in their room, called it Franconia, which hath since given the name of France to the whole kingdom.

The Description of Paris.

Paris is divided into the city and university; the latter erected by Charles the Great, and contains fifty-five colleges, but few of them endowed, except one called *la Sorbonne*, and that of late by Cardinal Richelieu; so that they are only places of publick lecture, the scholars having both their lodging and other accommodation in the town.

The city boasts itself as old as Rome. The ordinary houses are of stone, spacious, and most of them four or five stories high, every story often receiving a numerous family: the palaces sumptuous and many.

The king's house where he resides (for he hath others besides within the town, very great ones), called the Louvre, hath in it a gallery a full quarter of a mile long, lying to the river side. According to the first

design, three more sides were to have been built of an equal length, to have made it quadrangular; that not only all such as had depended on that great court, but some hundreds of guards, might have lodged within it.

The town-house is a fair structure, where the officers of the town meet to consult of such matters as tend to the good order, discipline, or any other concern of the city.

The convents, monasteries, and churches, are great and many; that of our Lady the biggest, built by the English; that of the Jesuits richest and finest, all the inside of the choir, with the pillars and pavement, being of pure marble. But of these I shall omit to say more, as also of the many stately bridges, of Luxemburgh, and the Royal Palace, two other of the king's houses, the latter at that time the residence of our King, the Queen Mother, and Duke of York, as also of many more remarkable places within that city; which, in this travelling age, most men's experience can give a better account of: only I must not pass by the great *pallais*, or palace, a great pile of irregular building, and of great antiquity, some part of it below stairs employed as shops and warehouses; part of it above is not unlike our new and old exchanges, where such-like merchandizes are exposed to sale. The rest of it is divided into many large chambers and apartments, where the several courts of parliament have their session. And here give me leave to define to you a French parliament.

Of the Parliaments in France.

The parliaments in France are courts of judicature, for the hearing and determining all causes, whether civil or criminal.

The French kings did formerly sit and administer justice themselves to the people, till business increased

to that degree, that they were forced to transfer that power to certain counsellors, who at first, joined with the peers of France, both ecclesiastic and secular, composed a court called a parliament.

This parliament used for many years to attend the king's person (though in progress) whence it was styled ambulatory; during which time there was none but it; till Philip le Bel made it sedentary, appointing the aforesaid palace for its constant post, and at the same time constituted another at Toulouse, for the ease of the people; from these two they are now grown to ten.

The first, that of Paris, erected by King Pepin.
Second, that of Toulouse, by Philip le Bel.
Third, that of Rouen, by Charles the Seventh.
Fourth, that of Grenoble, by the same.
Fifth, that of Bourdeaux, by Lewis the Eleventh.
Sixth, that of Dijon, by the same.
Seventh, that of Aix, by Lewis the Twelfth.
Eighth, that of Pau, by Henry the First.
Ninth, that of Rheims, by Henry the Second.
Tenth, that of Mentz, by Lewis the Thirteenth.

The parliament of Paris (much like unto which are all the rest) hath in it ten chambers, of several courts.

First, the grand chamber, which only takes cognizance of the most important affairs, consisting of eight principal judges, or presidents of the mortar (so called from their round caps, much resembling mortars), besides counsellors and other inferior officers.

Secondly, *la chambre de la tournelle*, that is, properly, for trial of criminal offenders (except gentlemen) who, though at first cited into this, have power to appeal to the grand chamber. To this appertain two presidents of the mortar, and eighteen counsellors.

Thirdly, the chamber of edict, erected in favour of the reformed churches (or those of Calvinism in France), to determine differences between them and the Romanists, and to give redress (though of late they seldom do) as

to matters of encroachments made upon their liberties established by law, whether spiritual or temporal. This court hath one president of the mortar, sixteen counsellors, chosen out of those belonging to the other chambers every two years, to attend this alone, with the chancellor and the protestant deputy-general.

The fourth and fifth chambers are courts of requests, where are tried causes of several kinds, as titles of lands and of all sorts of estates, whether real or personal. Each of these hath two presidents (not of the mortar) and twelve counsellors.

The fifth, and last, are five chambers of inquests, having rather a preparatory than a deciding power, though in some cases both; but always with appeals to the higher courts. All proceedings here are to be in writing, not verbal. These have every one of them two presidents and thirty counsellors.

Besides these there are other officers of parliament, *scilicet*, *procureur du roy*, or king's attorney, and under him four hundred inferior attornies, two advocates-general, besides an unknown number of lawyers.

Lastly, a *greffier en chef*, or a chief clerk, a place of great profit.

The chamber of accounts (though no member of parliament) is very considerable, both as to its business and officers, and chiefly intends the king's revenues, whether arising from taxes or the domain of the crown. It also taketh care of alienations. It confirms all edicts and ordinances relating to the finances, treaties of peace, contracts of marriage of the king's children, verifies all edicts for the creation of officers of the crown, as also the privileges and charters of cities or provinces; it naturalizeth, legitimates, ennobleth; nor is any grant from the crown looked on as sure, till passed here.

The officers of this court are eleven presidents, three score and ten masters of accounts, thirty correctors, three score and fourteen auditors, one advocate, one

attorney-general, thirty inferior attornies, three comptrollers, besides clerks and others.

The number of these chambers throughout France are eight: this at Paris the first, the rest at Rouen, Dijon, Nantes, Montpelier, Grenoble, Aix, and Dauphiné. Besides these, within the precincts of the palace there are three more chambers of the court of aides, composed of six presidents and other officers. Its jurisdiction is to determine, by last appeal, whatever ariseth of dispute as to all manner of taxes, as tackles, aids, gabels, or any right of the crown.

As to the laws in force in France, they are no more in effect than the king's own ordinances, which the parliament registers, ratifies, alters, or abolisheth, at his pleasure. It is true, the civil law is made use of in some particular places where custom hath introduced it, but there no further determination than it is consistent with the other; so that this people find true by sad experience, *misera gens, ubi lex pro arbitrio vaga.*

The magistracy of the city of Paris is both justiciary and politique. The justiciary officers are, first, a chief guard, or *garde de la prevoste de Paris*, or the guardian of the mayorship of Paris, who hath under him two lieutenants, one civil, the other criminal, assisted by four and twenty chancellors, one advocate and the king's attorney.

The politique officers are, first, a provost of Paris, or a major; fourteen *echevin*, or aldermen; a receiver, a head clerk, sixteen quarter waiters, with many more inferior officers.

The militia of this city consists of sixteen regiments, every regiment of sixteen companies, besides an infinite number of volunteers.

But before I leave Paris, I cannot but take notice of its Hospital-general, lately built at the public charge, out of the ruins of the Hospital of Pity, and very worthy of imitation. Here the whole impotent poor

are relieved, and the more able set at work to some manufacture or other, by a stock yearly arising from the general contribution of the whole city, the king paying his proportion as well as the meanest burgher. It received three thousand the first year it was erected, whereby the town in the world the most pestered with beggars is become the freest of them.

But because Paris is the usual place of residence of the French kings, I conceive it will not be improper to give here a short relation of that court; which the King of England's being there gave those of our nation a better opportunity to acquaint themselves with.

The Description of the French King's Court.

As to this, we will first consider the king himself, and with him the princes of the blood, the stranger princes, and the peers of France.

Secondly, the officers of the crown, whether civil or military.

Thirdly, his councils.

Fourthly, his revenue.

As to the first—Lewis the Fourteenth was yet in minority at my going into France, which, by the laws of that nation, those kings are, till they attain fourteen years, the princes of the blood seventeen, and more ordinary persons five and twenty.

Though the crown of France goes by succession from father to son, and for want of such heirs male, to the next relation male (females being excluded by their feigned Salique law), yet in some respects they will not allow it hereditary, or at least so far as to entitle the son to the payment of his father's debts or engagements; for when Lewis the Twelfth was desired to restore some artillery lent to Charles the Eighth, his predecessor, he denied to do it, as not being his heir.

The French kings have a most absolute power; when they would have anything done or confirmed by parliaments, they speak to them in these terms:—

"We, of our free grace, full power, great knowledge, "and royal authority, have willed, appointed, and "ordained, that you do so and so." And to shew they are obliged to give nobody a reason for what they enjoin, they end with, "for such is our pleasure."

They dispose of all governments of towns and countries, and of all the offices belonging to the crown, whether justiciary or military. They lay what taxes they please upon the people, alter the rates of money, making it greater when their coffers are low, and less when full. They make the laws, and interpret them; dispose of all ecclesiastical preferments, which the pope confirms; declare war, enter into leagues and confederacies, levy soldiers, and, in fine, whatever they please.

The French king qualifies himself the first Christian king, and eldest son of the church; says he is not liable to excommunication, or to do homage to any for his sovereignty, as most other Christian princes do, either to the emperor or see of Rome.—And thus far shall serve as to the king himself.

The princes of the blood are either the king's children, brothers, uncles, nephews, or cousins, descended in a direct masculine line from them. Next to these the bastard princes take place; but before they can be so acknowledged, they must obtain letters of legitimation, or some other public act so to qualify them.

The stranger princes are such as, though born in France, are descended from some sovereign prince of another country; as the Duke of Guise from the house of Lorraine.

The dukes and peers have session in parliament, and are the first of the nobility next to the princes. At the first they were only twelve, six ecclesiastical and six

secular; so made by particular grant from the king: but now (like other titles in France) they are conveyed by certain lands erected into duchies to the purchaser, so that the just number is uncertain, but believed to be about eighty.

This title is the only one at this day considerable in France, those of earl, marquis, baron, and knight, being so common, a man needs not lands to acquire them; good clothes and a splendid equipage creates them daily.

The second division of the court are the officers of the crown, which we will subdivide into superior and inferior:—the superior ones are;

First, the constable, who was lieutenant-general of the king's armies. He carried the sword before the king in all solemnities, and took place next to the princes of the blood, till Lewis the Thirteenth, this king's father, suppressed it in Monsieur le Duc de Lesdignieres. The Prince of Condé (a near prince of the blood, a person of great courage and ambition) first brought himself into jealousy of aspiring to the crown (which occasioned the late civil wars) by desiring that this honour might be recalled and conferred upon him. Though the name be taken away, the greatest part of the power remains to the first maraschal of France.

The maraschals of France are now places of greatest credit and power; according to the first institution there were but two, like lieutenants to the constable; under Charles the Seventh they were increased to four, and now they are eighteen; they are generals of the armies, and sit by themselves at the marble table; their jurisdiction is over vagrants, vagabonds, highwaymen, coiners of false money, and such-like criminals: though the king may suspend the functions of this office, their rank remains for life.

Thirdly, the chancellor; he hath the custody of the great seal, sits on the left hand of the king, disposes of

all offices of justice, so far as to displace the judges themselves, in case of misdemeanor—though the king, by taking the seal from the chancellor, may take away his authority, his quality never dies but with himself.

Fourthly, the keeper of the great seal, when taken from the chancellor.

Fifthly, the high-admiral.

Sixthly, the colonel-general of foot, to whom all the rest are but in a manner lieutenant-colonels, not being allowed to dispose of any commands in their own regiments without him.

Seventhly, the master of the artillery: he commands all the arsenals' magazines.

Eighthly, the grand-master of France, the first officer of the king's household, who administers the oaths to all the inferior ones, except those of the bed-chamber, the stable, or the chapel.

Ninthly, the great chamberlain.

Tenthly, the master of the horse.

Eleventh, the captain-general of the Louvre.

Twelfth, the chief carver, who hath under him four and twenty, that serve quarterly, six at a time.

Thirteenth, the grand almoner, the first ecclesiastical officer; he hath under his care all the hospitals that are of royal foundation.

Fourteenth, the grand butler.

Fifteenth, the grand pantler.

Sixteenth, the master of the chace.

Seventeenth, the grand falconer.

Eighteenth, the great master of the chace of wolves; who hath under him, four officers, two masters of the waters, and two of the forests, whose care it is to regulate such abuses as are committed either by hunting or fishing.

Nineteenth, the grand provost of the household, who judges all causes, civil or criminal, amongst the officers of the same; he proportions the rates of fish, flesh,

wines, corn, and of all other provisions for the use of the court; he hath under him five lieutenants, and thirteen other officers.

Twentieth, the master of the ceremonies.

Twenty-first, the mareschal of the household, or harbinger.

The inferior officers are either ecclesiastical or secular; of the first, there is the king's confessor in extraordinary, another in ordinary; eight almoners, that serve by turns; twelve preachers, a master of the oratory, eight chaplains, eight clerks of the chapel and oratory.

The lay officers are four and twenty under gentlemen of the chamber, four of the wardrobe, four secretaries of the king's chamber, three of the closet. In fine, it would be endless to mention them all that are within doors and without, those above stairs and below, as the grooms of the bed-chamber, anti-chamber, back-stairs, and the cabinet, the comptrollers, clerks of the kitchen, overseers of the wardrobe, of the library, purveyors, with infinite more, two or three degrees under these. Not to take notice of the Queen Mother, and the Duke of Anion's courts, consisting of such-like officers, I come now to the guards.

Of the French King's Guards.

The first of these are an hundred gentlemen, with halberds, not unlike the King of England's pensioners, that go before him on festival days; then four companies of the guards of the body, each consisting of one hundred men. The first of these companies should be Scotch (though now few of them are) and are called guards of the sleeve, because there are constantly two of them close to the king's chair when he dines, or attends any public ceremony: they were admitted to this

privilege, as also to that of free denizens of France, for their constant siding with the French against the English.

Next, there is a company of one hundred Switzers; these are the first of the king's ordinary guards, and much esteemed for their fidelity and courage, besides fifty in extraordinary, that wait quarterly, and keep the door where the king enters.

Next is the company of the *gens-d'armes*, consisting of two hundred masters, besides servants; the king is their captain, and they serve by quarter.

Then the company of two hundred light horse.

Lastly, two regiments of foot, one of Switzers, of thirty companies, the other French, of sixteen: each company ought to muster two hundred men; these mount the guard by two companies together, and guard the avenues of the court.

Besides these, there is of late a new guard established, of musqueteers on horseback, consisting of one hundred and fifty gentlemen; they wear blue coats, with two great silver crowns flourished and embroidered upon them, and attend the king out of the town.

The whole guards together are above ten thousand men.

And now that we are here, I conceive it may not be improper to say something of the rest of the army, which is greater or less, as they have war or peace, but ever considerable, to keep the people in subjection: at my being in France they were these:

The horse consists—First, of *gens-d'armes*, so called because completely armed; they receive double pay, and so are allowed every one his man. The king, queen, monsieur, the princes of the blood, and mareschals of France, have each a company of these for guards. Secondly, of fifty-six regiments of light horse (French), and twelve regiments of strangers.

The foot, in the year 1654, were one hundred and ten

regiments of French, and four of strangers, which would amount to a vast number, was every regiment thirty companies complete, and every company four score and ten men, as they ought to be, according to the establishment.

But the officers, as well as soldiers, are so ill paid, that they wholly, in a manner, subsist by false musters, free quarter, and preying upon the country; so that an assignment of a country for winter quarters is considered as little less than the sale of it to the soldiery, to take their utmost advantage of, for that term.

The King commands in chief; the Duke of Orleans as lieutenant-general, the mareschals next, and under them the colonels.

The third thing I promised to consider of, with the King, are his councils, which are—

First, the high councils, always kept in his majesty's chamber, where matters of the greatest moment are considered of, and discussed. The king, the princes of the blood, the chief ministers of state, and such others as the king appoints, compose it; but when less affairs come in question, the comptroller-general and most of the principal officers of state are admitted.

Secondly, the council of war, held in the same place, consists of the king, the ministers of state, the mareschals and lieutenant-generals.

Thirdly, the council of state, or the privy council, consisting of about thirty persons, *scilicet*, the king, the princes of the blood, the chancellor, the superintendants, some councillors of state, the treasurers, and others, who qualify them of his honourable privy council; this hath the largest extent for business of any.

It is not to be forgotten, that the secretaries of state are always present in these councils, to prepare, digest, and expedite the results of the same; they are four in *number, and* every one hath a particular charge or

function; one hath care of foreign business, another of what concerns the church, another of affairs military, and the fourth, of such as relate to the court, and his majesty's household.

There are more, the councils of finances and parties, which meet twice a week, and chiefly take care of the revenue, which comes next, as the fourth thing to be considered.

Of the French King's Revenue.

It arises either from the ancient demain of the crown, or from such taxes and impositions as are laid upon the subject.

For the demain, it was laid to the crown during the reign of Pepin (till which time the kings were supplied with money by the consent and care of the states), but that is now so much alienated, that the revenue may be said almost wholly to arise from the taxes; and those are,

First, *tailles*, certain levies of money upon every family, by consent of the states, which in Lewis the Eleventh's time began to be so great, that it caused an insurrection of the people; but the king quelling this, afterwards assessed them at his own pleasure, without so much as advising with the states, and it has since been practised throughout France, except in some privileged counties, as Languedoc, Dauphiny, Bretagne, Provence, and Burgundy.

Secondly, *taillon*, a kind of militia money, imposed upon the country under pretence of raising pay for the army.

Thirdly, *la substance*, the payment whereof exempts the provinces willing to raise it, from quartering of soldiers.

All these are paid by the third estate (the clergy and

gentry being free), while the poor peasant is often forced to part with all he has, to the very bed he lies upon, to pay them.

These, together, are computed to raise yearly fifty millions three hundred and fifty-nine thousand two hundred livres.

Fourthly, the *aides*, an imposition upon all goods and merchandise.

Fifthly, *la gabelle*, or revenue arising from salt, which has been annexed to the crown ever since the reign of Philip the Long, 1318; at which time every pound of salt paid but a farthing to the king, though at this day farmed at twenty millions of livres (per annum), the farmers taking the pits into their own hands, and imposing salt upon the people at what rate they please.

In the year 1542 the price was limited to twenty livres the mine, a measure containing eight and forty minots, every minot containing about as much as our bushel; and it is now risen to eight and forty livres, every livre being near the value of eighteen pence sterling.

Lastly, the old farms, customs, tolls upon rivers, sale of offices, civil and military, the farm of iron and paper, falls of woods in the king's forests, with many others such like, added to the former, are computed to amount yearly, in the whole, to about eighty-two millions three hundred and twenty-two thousand nine hundred and ninety-six livres; of pistoles, eight millions two hundred and thirty-two thousand two hundred and ninety-nine, with some little odds; of sterling, at fifteen shillings the pistole, six millions one hundred and seventy-one thousand two hundred and sixty-six pounds.

It is believed, that under pretence of raising this, the country pays a third part more, which the farmers and under officers put into their own pockets.

Le surintendant des finances, or the overseer of the

revenue, disposes of it as he thinks fit, without being obliged to account to any; under him are the intendants, and a comptroller, with several treasurers of the *espargne*, or exchequer, which last purchase their offices, at a million of livres a piece. They have twelve thousand livres per annum, salary, besides a denier, or fourth part of a sol, twenty of which make a livre, for every livre they receive.

Not finding it convenient to make any long stay at Paris, at this time, I went for Saumur the latter end of August; a protestant university in the province of Anjou; as well out of desire to see the country as to learn the language, which I found the great resort of my countrymen to Paris is a prevention to. The first remarkable place I passed in the way was Orleans, two days' journey by the messenger from Paris; the metropolis of the country of Bausse, and gives title to the next of the blood royal, save the king and dauphin.

Here Joan d'Arc, or the Pucelle of Orleans, raised the siege, the town being ready to be surrendered to the English; it and Bourges being the only two considerable places at that time left to Charles the Seventh, the French king, which caused him, in mockery, to be styled king of Bourges: upon the bridge stands her statue, with this subscription:—

Joan d'Arc, qui patriam liberavit à Britannicâ servitute.

This city is about the bigness of York, but more populous; stands both in a pleasant and rich country, upon the river Loire; though this river be in some places shallow, it is the broadest in France, and waters a greater part of it than any, springing out of the hills of Auvergne, and so passing through the most fruitful dales of all France, till it falls into the western seas.

After two days' stay to see the town, I went by water to Blois, a day's journey distance from Orleans, in a passage-boat, with some French men and women, who,

by singing, to make the journey more pleasant (some of them having good voices) made it less so; infecting the air at the same time with wafts of garlic (a great food in that country, with bread) that it more nauseated the smell than gratified the ear.

The stream of this river is so swift, that the watermen, not able to row back their boats, sell them at the end of their journey.

Blois is no great town, but well seated, part of it upon a hill, the rest by the river side, surrounded with vineyards on every side. Here I made some stay, but found little observable, except the castle where the Duke of Orleans, the king's uncle, then lived retired, being in some disfavour at court. His greatest delight was in his garden, where he had all sorts of simples, plants, and trees that the climate could produce, which he pleased himself with studying the names and virtues of. On one side of the town is the duke's chace, well stored with wood (a thing not very usual in France) which gives harbour to many sorts of wild beasts, especially red deer and wolves, notwithstanding great endeavours to destroy these latter: they are so numerous and bold in cold weather, that the winter before my coming thither, a herd of them came into the street and devoured a young child.

There the Calvinists are allowed the public practice of their devotion, and have their temple (as they call it) or church, but not within the walls of the town, no more than elsewhere in France. I know not what to resemble it to better, as to shape, than a barn, nor is it much better adorned; all that is allowed to be painted or written within being only the ten commandments; they have neither steeples nor bells; the women sit separate from the men, and the ministers preach covered.

The second of July I left Blois, and the same day came to Amboise, ten leagues further down the river; *a castle of great* strength, where Charles the Eighth

died suddenly, in the midst of his great preparation to make a second effort upon the kingdom of Naples. There is a winding staircase, or rather an ascent without steps, so large, and that rises so insensibly, that a coach and six horses have drawn up it to the top of the castle.

In the chapel we saw the horns of a stag, of an incredible bigness, which they tell you swam from the sea, and came out of England; as also the neck bone and one of his ribs, of five cubits and an half long.

Seven leagues further we reached Tours, the capital city of the province of Turaine, not unfitly called the garden of France, for its delicious and fruitful situation, and drives a great inland trade; there is the longest pell-mell in France. A league short of the town we saw the famous monastery of Marmontiers, where they show a cruise of oil, or *la saint empoule*, which they say St. Martin received from heaven by an Angel (having broken one of his ribs) and by applying it found present cure; as also St. Martin's tub, as big as a little room, which the Saint (when the town was in great scarcity by reason of a long siege) caused to be filled with water, and converted it into wine.—*Si credere.*

The next day we arrived at Saumur; it stands in Anjou, upon the river Loire, not so considerable in itself as the castle that commands the whole country adjacent.

This was one of the cautionary towns granted to the Calvinists by the French kings, to secure to them the exercise of their religion, and some other privileges they purchased at the price of a bloody and tedious war, in the reigns of Charles the Ninth and Henry the Third. It is since an university, where those of the reformed churches send their children to be educated and instructed in all sorts of sciences, but especially in divinity; this and Montauban being the only two nurseries of learning they have in all France, and these but mean ones, for two reasons:—first, the want of accommodation

for scholars, there being no colleges in either, except the schools: secondly, the little encouragement given to professors and readers, who have no reward but the benevolence of their scholars. The Romanists have here also a college or school, under the care of the Fathers of the Oratory, a fraternity lately established to lessen the interest of the Jesuits, which the other orders suspected to grow too considerable, by having so wholly under their care the instruction of youth.

This college, with the church belonging to it, is dedicated to our Lady, called *Notre Dame d'Arteliers*, a place of great devotion, for the cures she is cried up to do the lame and diseased, which leads many a blind man to see miracles.

In the church hang up arms, legs, and almost all sorts of members, in white wax, which they tell you such persons as came indisposed into those parts, and returned sound from this pilgrimage, left behind them, in commemoration of their cures.

The occasion of the invention of this Saint was this: a poor fellow making a hole in the ground with a mattock, happened, at one stroke, both to cut his leg and to drive out of the ground a little black image, which finding to be that of our Lady, he applied to his leg, and was immediately healed; thereupon she was carried to a priest, who divulged the miracle and got a contribution towards the raising to her an altar, which is since increased to a church, an appendent college, and a whole street, at the zealous charge of her pilgrims.

At the other end of the town is a convent of unreformed friers, endowed with lands to the value of fifteen hundred pounds per annum, belonging to Cardinal Grimmalde, who (if you will believe their adversaries) live something scandalously as to the flesh, but yet regularly enough as to their order.

This was not only the usual place of my abode for

all that winter, but for a long time after, as well to improve myself in the language, as exercises of body, though I sometimes left it upon visits to such places as deserved seeing. Amongst others, April the 2nd, 1655, I went to Richelieu, which gave name and birth to that so famous Cardinal, late minister of state to Lewis the Thirteenth, who first opened the eyes of France to discern her own strength.

The town and house are both little, but very polite and well built. The town doth chiefly consist of a long spacious straight street; the houses of free stone (ashlard) four stories high, where all the windows and doors answer one another. At the end of the street is a fair market-place, and in the middle of it a church. Leaving this on the right hand, a long walk leads you to the house, which stands a little to the left, the walk being contrived near two miles into the park, in a direct line through a wood of the same length, from the end whereof you have a level and easy prospect quite through the town. The house is rather high than large, but withal very regular, moated round with the park on one side, gardens and fish-ponds on the other; the furniture rich and costly, not unworthy of the place, or his grandeur that provided it. The pictures and the statues are thought equal to the best in Italy, from whence they came. This house now belongs to the Duke of Richelieu, the Cardinal's nephew and heir.

In our return to Saumur we passed by a place called Chinon; near to which is the Dropping Cave, where, near a mile under ground, the water falling from a rock, first is congealed into ice, and then into stone.

Next we came to Loudon, where the Calvinists usually hold their synods for the reconciling of such differences as at any time arise amongst themselves in matters of religion. Next, to Garonne, the Duke of Roijan's house. The day following to Fronteveaux, a famous convent, where lies under a mean tomb Richard

the King of England. The Lady Abbess was bastard to Henry the Fourth, by Madame de Beauford, and sister to Monsieur de Vendosme. Some few leagues from hence we saw Doue, remarkable for an old Roman theatre. Not much further lives the Duke of Brisac, at his house of the same name, a great lover of field sports, and at that time well furnished with English horses and dogs.

The next day, which was the 10th of April, we reached Saumur.

In May, the season invited me to make a further voyage into the country, as far as Bourdeaux, which I did, in the company of Mr. Leach, and two High Germans. The first place of note we came to was Poictiers, two days' journey from Saumur, famous for the battle there between the French and English, where King John was taken prisoner by Edward the Black Prince. The compass of the town is large, but the streets not many, and the houses thin; there being large gardens, fields, and vineyards within the walls. The best church was built by the English. There we saw the ruins of an old Roman amphitheatre.

The next remarkable place we passed through was Angouleme, capital of the province of Angoumois. It stands at the top of an hill, most considerable for the castle, a place of great strength.

Then we came to Saintes, no great town to give name to a province, as it doth to that of Saintonge, where there is a castle. Near unto it we saw the most entire Roman theatre in all France. In these the Romans acted tragedies or comedies, having the stage in the form of a half moon, and usually three degrees of benches about it.

The first, or nearest, was called *popularia*, for the commons; second, *equestria*, where the gentlemen sat; the third, *orchestra*, for the senators. Their amphi-*theatre was made* circular, for the baiting of wild beasts,

sword prizes, *ubi gladiatorii ludi et ferarum venationes exhibebantur.*

Not many leagues further we came to Blay, a small town upon the river Garonne, where there is a fort, well fortified, that commands the river. Here we left our horses, and went by water to Bourdeaux, in five hours. The passage was pleasant; the river (though larger than the Thames) some part of the way very calm. The banks planted with vines, afford those excellent, well-bodied wines, so much transported into England, called *Le Vin de Grâve*, and others. Bourdeaux, the metropolis of Guienne, is not without reason esteemed one of the prime cities in France. It stands on a plain, upon the river Garonne, being large and populous, and drives greater maritime trade (especially with England and Holland) than any other whatsoever.

The best street is called *La Rue du Chapeau Rouge*, which, for breadth and length, I never saw a better. The churches and religious houses are numerous and fair; as also the palaces. It hath a parliament, and three citadels, to keep it and the country in subjection. That of Chateau Trompette is the strongest, repaired since the last war, to the great dissatisfaction of the citizens. Half a league from the town, we saw the ruins of a large theatre, two sides of an old Roman temple, where they used to sacrifice to their tutelar gods. The wall is but one course of stones thick, but so well seamed and united by the cement of that age (which we have now lost the art of) that it is ever observed to break sooner in the stone than the joints. There are several hideous, monstrous things carved on the inside of the wall, which are believed those of their gods.

After three days' stay here, we returned to Blay, intending for Saumur another way; and first we came to Brouage, which, of a poor fisher town, Cardinal Richelieu *made as* convenient and secure a haven as

most in France; a great security, as well as conveniency, to that side of the country, but very chargeable, in making many hundreds of great trees being driven down lengthways, like piles, into that boggy moist ground, to secure the foundation, before they could either make houses or fortifications. To it appertains an arsenal, well stored with arms and ammunition.

The next place we came to of note was Rochelle, once the strongest place in France, situated upon an arm of the sea, whose revolt from under the French king's obedience, (the inhabitants being all Calvinists) and their seeking to our late king for succour, occasioned Lewis the Thirteenth to raise a great army to reduce them to obedience. After the siege had continued some months by land, but ineffectually, the town being well stored with provisions, and frequently receiving fresh from England, the Duke of Buckingham, sent with a considerable army to their assistance, was worsted in his attempt on the isle of Rhé, and afterwards stabbed, which gave opportunity to Richelieu to use this sea stratagem to curb them, *scilicet*, to sink betwixt three and four hundred vessels in the middle of the channel, to prevent all entrance of provisions; which reduced them to that necessity in four months, that the living fed on the dead, and those of the best quality did ate the leather that covered their coaches, so, at last, they delivered up the town to the king's mercy; within two days after comes a tempest, and sweeps away the *dige* or rampire of ships, the expectation of which, as also the coming in of a certain sort of shell fish, which the tide, of custom, used to bring, made them hold out the longer; but neither of these came till too late, to show that heaven is angry at rebellion.

The king, though he gave them their lives, took from them their privileges, dismantled the town, and planted popish families amongst them. The town is very large, built with continued porches all along on each side of

the streets, like the piazzas in Covent-garden, but nothing so great. The best temple is built circular, the cover almost flat and of lead, which it artificially sustains without either prop or pillar.

Some six leagues from Rochelle, we passed by a great many salt-pits, all upon the shore; the afternoon brought us into a good country, and so the next day, till we reached Nantes, in Brittany, seated upon the Loire. This is the last place of note upon that river, though nothing inferior to any of the former, both for structure and riches, being a town of great traffic. In the great church lie many of the Dukes of Brittany, under mean tombs for so great princes, who maintained their sovereignty against all the attempts and acts of the French kings, till, the masculine line ending, it was annexed to that crown by Charles the Eighth's marriage with Anne, the daughter and heiress of that duchy, in the year 1390.

From Nantes we came to Angers, chief city of the province of Anjou, which gives title to the third prince of the blood. It stands upon the river Mayenne, which, not half a league from the town, discharges itself into the Loire. The streets of the city are large and numerous, and provisions plentiful, which invites to it many people of quality, both French and strangers. The great church, or cathedral, is dedicated to St. Maurice, where they show you one of the pitchers which, it is said, contained the water our Saviour, at the wedding, converted into wine; it was of porphyry.

Near to this is the church of the Jacobins, and over the high altar the portrait of our Lady, extending her hands, holding a pair of beads to a supplicant, with this inscription:

"Gaude, filî Hiacinthe; preces tuæ gratæ sunt filio meo: et quicquid ab eo per me petieris impetrabis."

In the convent of Capuchins these verses are written over the door, to magnify their order:

"Exue Franciscum tunicâ laceroque cucullo,
Qui Franciscus erat, jam modò Christus erit:
Indue sed Christum capucinâ veste; quid indè?
Hic Franciscus erit, qui tibi Christus erat."

There we saw the ruins of a palace, antiently belonging to the Kings of Sicily, and within it a short gallery, entire, about two yards and a half high, and about as much in breadth, which only denotes to us, with how mean habitations great persons contented themselves in those days.

From Angers we had twelve leagues to Saumur, having now spent near thirty days in taking a view of the said countries, none of which we found comparable to that of Anjou, both for pleasantness and fruitfulness, abounding with great towns, woods, vineyards, and watered with forty several rivers. And having got enough of the language to introduce me into the company of the people of the country, I left Saumur in July 1655, to go with Mr. Leach for Mons, a place less frequented by strangers. Mons is the capital town of the country of Mayenne, twenty leagues distance from Saumur.

In the way we lay at La Flesche, where the Jesuits have their principal college, formerly one of the king's houses, given them by Henry the Fourth, upon his recall of them from banishment, which before he had condemned them to, for concealing a confession of an intended attempt upon his life.

At his death he bequeathed his heart to those of his college, which they keep with great veneration in a case of gold in their fine church, on one side of the high altar, with that of his queen's on the other.

It is not the least of those many policies practised by *this order,* to admit of none into their society, but either

the noble, the rich, or ingenuous, which their having so much of the youth under their instruction and care, gives them opportunity sufficient to cull out. But to show more plainly their industry in this kind, where there is any thing to be acquired; it will not be impertinent to mention what I had from the mouth of a sad father, a count, of good estate and family in Dauphiny, concerning his children.

He told me he had three sons, all sent to perform their studies with the Jesuits: the first being melancholy, gave them better opportunity to work into him to leave the world, and lead a religious life; the second (by the example of his brother, and the insinuation of his masters) did the same, notwithstanding all the dissuasions of his friends; the third, being about twelve years old, was then taken away, lest he might be prevailed upon by the same arts, and sent to an academy at Paris, not so much to study exercises as diversions. When he came out, his father allowed him an extraordinary equipage, coach and horses, a numerous retinue, and, indeed, whatever he desired, to enamour him the more of the world; all which was not sufficient to efface his first impressions, renewed by a visit he made to his brothers, so that no endeavours could oppose his entering into the same cloister, leaving his father without a son, though not without many heirs, the greatest part of his estate by this means going to the college.

As to Mons, it is a very old town, stands part of it upon a hill; it is an archbishopric, and hath two or three churches of note; amongst others, that of the Hospital, built and endowed by Henry the Third of England. This town, as well as the country, was long in the possession of the English, from whence the Marquis of Peze, and several other families thereabout own their extractions. Here lived at that time several people of quality, as la Marquesse of Conniers dowager, the Viscount of Vardin, and others, whom we found

very obliging to strangers, affording us great freedom in their houses, and part in all their diversions and entertainments, during our nine months stay at that place.

In April 1656, I returned to Saumur, where I stayed two months; then I went to Thouars in Brittany, where the Duke of Tremoulle hath his best house, and was then retired, being in some disfavour at court, partly upon his own account, and partly his son's, the Prince of Tarente, who had adhered to the Prince of Condé, in his last revolt from the king.

Thouars is looked upon as one of the best manors in all France, not so much for profit, (a great extent of land there sometimes affording not much rent), but for greatness of tenure; five hundred gentlemen, as it is said, holding their lands from it.

Going to wait on the Duke, I found him very kind, when I told him my country, (the late Earl of Derby having married his sister): he commanded me to dine with him, and the next time mounted me upon one of his horses, to wait on him a-hunting in his park, which not being two miles about, I thought of little compass to belong to so great a person, till I found that few are allowed to have any there, save the princes of the blood: so true it is, that there are more parks in England than in all Europe besides.

Having now staid about two years in France, I had a great desire to see Italy; but my allowance from England not being sufficient to defray the charge of more than two in so long a journey, I parted with Mr. Leach, who returned homewards, and went from Thouars the 28th of July 1656; taking only an English boy along with me, designing for Lyons.

From Thouars I hired horses to Tours, about twenty leagues distant, of which I have already made mention; then I travelled three days through a good country, well *stored* with fish and excellent wines, without meeting

with any place of note till I came to Bourges, formerly called Biturris, *à binis Turris*, capital town of the province of Berry, an university, and one of the cautionary towns assigned the protestants in the year 1570. The great church is large and well built; the houses are generally of wood.

The next day I passed through Bourbon, that gives name to a fruitful country about it, so famous for the great cures wrought by its waters and baths: there is one well so very hot, that a fowl dipped into it loses its feathers.

The next day after I came to Moulines, upon the river Elaver: here the great trade of the town is knives and scissars, as also all sorts of hardware, of great esteem throughout France.

From Moulines, in one day and a half, I went to Rouen, upon the river Loire, where that river first begins to be navigable, and in two days more to Lyons: we found the way these two last very desert and rocky, which gives occasion for the frequent robberies there committed.

Here it was that the so famous thief, called *Le Solitaire*, from his always robbing by himself, confessed at his execution, in the year 1659, that he had committed above twenty murders, besides robberies; his way of doing it was thus:—The road, as I have said, uneasy and dangerous; when he perceived a single passenger, or two at the most, he would offer himself to them, in the habit of a lame beggar, to show them a more even and secure way, and so led them to a place, where, in a narrow passage, he had prepared a trap-door; this being covered over with gravel, and himself going over first, whom it bore, being on foot, made it not discoverable to the horsemen, till one of them felt the downfall; this done, the advantage of the place, and two or three case of pistols he carried under his coat, gave him some opportunity to make himself master, first of the

life, then of the purse of the other, for he seldom robbed but he killed.

Lyons, with the country about it, is called Lyonnois; it is within the verge of Dauphiny; it is situated in a place with great mountains on one side, and two very remarkable rivers on the other, Rhone and Saone, which here meet; the first comes from the Lake of Geneva, the other from near Langres in Germany; the town is very great, and well built; an university, a great mart town, the see of an archbishop, and has a parliament, but most inhabited by gown-men and merchants, who live at as great an expence both as to their houses and equipage, as the best. There the women of quality, when they visit their country houses in summer, ride astride like men, with hats and feathers. During my stay here, which was till the latter end of October, arrived Christiana, late Queen of Sweden, only child to Gustavus Adolphus, from Rome, having the year before resigned up her kingdom to the now King of Sweden, her cousin-german. Her face is well, but her person little and crooked, which to conceal the better, I suppose, she so much affects wearing a loose coat, like a man, a cravat, and a periwig. She hath certainly a great deal of wit, and a vast memory: she speaks well in seven several languages; and in my hearing, seeing a new play in her own chamber, reminded the actors of about twenty verses (repeating them *verbatim*), which it seems they, not being very perfect in, had omitted.

And now as I was in preparing for Italy, came the news of the plague having broken out, which proves so mortal in these hot countries, and makes so ill travelling (none being admitted any where out of an infected place, without forty days' confinement to a pest-house, which they call making quarantine, where, if any one die, though of another distemper, the last day, you stay as long again), that it reasonably diverted a great

many travellers from their purpose of seeing Italy; and here only one Mr. Berry, of Canterbury, and myself, of English, resolved, being come so far, to commit ourselves to Providence, and to set forward for Venice, which we heard was free from infection, with the first opportunity.

This gentleman then and two Italians, myself and servant, parted from Lyons the 18th of October, 1656, with the *procacio* or messenger, with whom we had contracted to furnish us with all necessaries, as carriage, lodging, and diet, at a certain rate, betwixt Lyons and Padua, in Italy.

In three days' time we came to Geneva, through a barren mountainous woody country, little inhabited but by wolves and bears. It stands upon a great lake, well stored with fish, especially trout (some have been taken weighing sixty pounds), with France on one side, Savoy and Switzerland on the other. It is a little commonwealth or seigniory of itself; its territories some leagues in compass, an university, and governed by a common-council and four syndics.

The town is large, the streets but narrow, and the houses all arched towards the street, that one may walk secure from wet in all weathers.

Here Mr. Calvin first broached his doctrine, about 1520, which has since much spread itself through France and other parts of Europe, though with some difference as to matter of church government. Here it consists of two laymen to every minister, who take care of matters within their particular parishes, appealing to the synod or convocation, when they cannot determine them.

The ministers live upon stipends, seldom above fifty pounds a man, and the tythes are collected by the secular officers, for the maintenance of the poor, and the children of ministers that are left unprovided for, and such-like uses. The churches have bells and

steeples like ours, but no inward decorations. They use a set form of prayer, and after service any sort of recreation on Sundays. They are so severe against Romanists, that they do not suffer them to abide there above three days without special licence; and to know who comes, they have searchers that inquire daily in all inns who they are that arrive, what is their religion, and how long they intend to stay?

But, before I go further, I conceive it will not be improper to say something of the commodities, as well as of the people, of France. What it abounds in most, of its own production, is many sorts of lasting and wholesome wines, excellent cyder, and perry, good store of corn and cattle, to suffice themselves; as also, of coarse cloths, made about Berry, a great work country, but none for transportation; their horses are trussed and big boned, something finer than those of Flanders, fitter for loads than for the saddle, which makes them so prize those of England and Spain. Pacers they have none, nor are they necessary, where they travel so easily, seldom going faster than at a long rake, betwixt a trot and foot pace, which they call *le grand pas*.

Their fuel is most usually wood, and charcoal. Sea coal they have in some places from England; the meaner sort burn stubble and furze.

As to the people, they are very ingenious in improving what their country affords by manufacture, in exchange of which, and their wines, they have all foreign commodities brought them, the reason why they less addict themselves to navigation.

The French are hearty feeders, eating four meals a day, usually at their dinners on boiled meat, and suppers roast. The quality of their diet is much the same with ours; the same sorts of fish and fowl, with addition only improved by their cookery and sauces, in which *certainly* they excel us.

The commonalty live much on roots, salads, garlick, and such like.

The gentry there seldom live in the country, or when they do, it is for recruit, which makes them live very sparingly as to their bellies, to clap it on their backs when they return to a good town, where, howsoever they fare, they will be fine.

The inns are usually well provided with victuals, but the rooms inconvenient, having two or three beds a-piece, bare walls, coarse linen, which to procure clean is a favour; the meat you either pay for at so much a-head, or agree for before it be dressed.

The gentry are well bred, but no scholars, being usually taken from their studies at about fourteen, then put into the academy to learn their exercises, as fencing, dancing, music, riding the great horse, and the like, and then sent into the army, where, if they purchase not some command, after a campaign or two (for the stoutest must pay as well as the rest) they return to such employments as their friends prepare for them elsewhere.

This way of breeding, as also the familiar converse allowed them with their parents from their childhood, trains them up to a great confidence, which often puts an handsome gloss upon mean parts, till further familiarity discover that they are the best to the outward.

Whereas titles used to be adherent to lands, so now lands are to titles; any gentleman that is owner of a piece of a manor, qualifying himself and children Counts, Viscounts, or Barons of the same, though it was never erected into that quality.

Such as are designed for the Church are brought up another way, and find good preferment in some bishop's see, abbey, priory, or convent; into the best of which, persons of the best quality, not parts, are commonly chosen.

Trading in France both procures and forfeits gentility: persons that have got good estates easily obtaining being ennobled by the king at cheap rates; when at the same time a gentleman born, is thought to degrade himself by traffic; and yet the best of them, in plentiful years, play the vintner, setting up huts at their gates, and selling a farthing's worth of wine to passengers.

The women are rather subtle than chaste, interessed than virtuous; a great itch to be well clad; sometimes occasioning the neglect of one part to adorn the rest. In fine, the French are generally soon gained, and soon lost; good company, but bad friends; unable to keep a secret, and had rather lay their hands on their swords for you, than on their purse; they have more of airy than solid, and attempt better than they perform, so that it may properly enough be said of them, as Tacitus said of the Britons in his time, *In deposcendis periculis eadem audacia; in detractandis ubi advenere eadem formido.*

Of Switzerland.

From Geneva we went through Switzerland for Italy: the first place of note we came to in that country was Rolle, where we lay October the 23rd. But before I go further, give me leave to say something of that commonwealth, consisting of thirteen cantons or provinces: Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Uran, Glauris, Schwytz, Bazil, Friburg, Solothurn, Shauffhausen, Appensol, Underwalt, Zugh. Switzerland, or Helvetia, hath ever been a member of the empire, under the Romans, the French, and the Germans, till about the time it came to the House of Austria; oppressed by the tyranny of the governors thereof, their cantons *entered into a league* to defend their liberties against

Leopold, Archduke of Austria, whom they overthrew in battle, in the year 1315: the rest perceiving this, by degrees fell into the same confederacy with them, routed out the families of gentlemen, and laid the foundation of the same free estate that they enjoy at this day.

Each canton is, as it were, a little republic of itself; hath public magistrates to lay impositions upon such commodities as are liable to pay them, as salt, corn, and wine, which, first put into the treasury, is afterwards expended either upon the private or public account, whereto every canton contributes, according to their proportion.

Though Zurich be allowed the first canton for order sake, being the usual place of residence for ambassadors, and is first acquainted with foreign matters to communicate them to the rest, and the like; yet the cantons admit of no superiority one above another. Each has its particular council, or senate, where their private concerns are adjudged and regulated, and such elected as are sent to the general senate, where all matters, such as peace, war, leagues, and such affairs, are carried by voices, no canton having more one than another.

The cantons are not tied to observe the customs of each other, except they freely embrace them. But the laws they proceed and judge by are decrees and statutes agreed to at their general councils, which they inviolably keep.

In Lucerne, the law of retribution is often followed, where an arm pays for an arm, an eye for an eye, and life for life, though the mischief be done (*se defendendo*), except the party fly; nor can the private senate of the canton allow his return till satisfaction be given to the next of kin.

Four of these cantons, and the most considerable, Zurich, Berne, Shaffhausen, and Bazil, are protestants; Zugh, Glaris, and Appensol mixt; the rest Romanists.

But to my journey.—From Rolle we had four hours

to Lozannen (for so they reckon in that country, not by leagues but hours, as do the Germans), where we left the Lake of Geneva, and at night reached Misden, in the canton of Berne.

The next day, being the 26th, we went through a champaign country, and in nine hours arrived at Morat, a little compact town, half of it within the canton of Berne, and half within that of Friburg. It has a governor that continues his office six years; which expired, his successor must be of the other canton. It almost joins upon a lake which Charles Duke of Burgundy swam on horseback (overcome by the Switzers) to save himself; and, as the story goes, his horse not only carried him, but haled his page, who, resolving to follow his master's fortune, leaped in after, and got hold of the tail, which the Duke requited when he arrived on the other side, by pistolling him for doing that (out of whatsoever consideration), that might have endangered his master's life.

Near to the place where the battle was fought stands a little house, built like a chapel, filled with the bones of thirty thousand men that there lost their lives.

Five hours from hence we reached Aberge, where we dined, and at night came to our lodging at Solothurn.

This is the metropolis of the canton of the same name, where usually resides the French ambassador. Here I saw a tower of great antiquity, called the Red Tower, which the figures upon it speak to be built five hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. Thus far the language of the country was a corrupt French mixed with Dutch, but here they began to speak clear High Dutch. The next day showed us a fair level country, well wooded. We dined at Hurburgh, and lodged at Airow, situated on the river Air.

The next day we baited at Mellinger, where the first stroke was struck in the late ended war betwixt the *papists and protestants*. The ground of the quarrel

was this: some papists turning protestants not far from this place, had their goods detained from them, by the Romanists of the parish laying claim to them by a law they pretend to have there, that when any amongst them alter their religion, they forfeit their goods. The converts not content with this, assisted with their party, required restitution, which being denied them, first occasioned a quarrel in the town, which afterwards, espoused by the whole country, ended in six months' time with the loss of five or six thousand men, wherein the protestants came to the worse.

Four leagues from Mellinger we came to Zurich, the metropolis of the principal canton, a fair well-built town, standing upon a lake of the same name, much after the manner of Geneva and Constance, which three are the only towns so seated in the Christian world, at the ends of three famous lakes, where contracting themselves, they fall into rivers.

The streets are large, and beautified with several churches, especially three built cathedral-wise.

The river divides the town into two parts, and hath over it three bridges. On the far side we see the arsenal, an excellent store-house of ammunition and arms, both offensive and defensive, sufficient, as they told us, to arm fifteen thousand men *cap-à-pie*; besides which, every citizen of rank is allowed to keep arms in his house for four men.

Here they showed us the coat worn by Charles Duke of Burgundy the day they overcame him and killed him in battle, and the great basket-hilted sword of William Tell, who, though but an obscure person, was the occasion of the liberty of his country; the manner thus (as goeth the story):

One of the lieutenants under the Archduke of Austria (amongst other ridiculous insolencies practised upon the natives) commanded that his helmet erected upon a pike, should be reverenced by such as passed by it.

which this Tell refused to do, whereof the governor being advertised, sent for him, enjoining him for punishment, to take off an apple with an arrow laid upon the head of his child, or die, which it seems he had the fortune to do; but a second arrow being discovered under his coat, and being asked his reason of bringing it, he replied, "With intention of shooting the deputy with that, if he had harmed his child with the other;" whereupon he was clapped in prison, from whence afterwards escaping, so many resorted to him that he assailed the deputy, and first appeared in the purchase of that liberty, which more considerable persons afterwards perfected.

There they have a common cellar and granary, where they keep their reserve in case of dearth or scarcity, what it seems they have often suffered under in this country. The cellar there is usually stored with six thousand annes of wine, every anne containing one hundred and twenty pottles. The pipes that hold it are of a vast size, some of them receive three hundred and seventy-five annes a piece. The butler, to draw us a taste of it, took pains to go up a ladder of near twenty staves, to very ill purpose; for I thought it the worst I ever drank. There I tasted wine of thirty years old, or rather vinegar, and saw corn in their granary of a hundred.

Here resided at this time the English and Venetian ambassadors. He from England was named Pell, and had been two years resident from Cromwell; a strange unknown person, not unsuiting the people he was sent to, nor the master he came from. They are here so strict in their religion, they suffer not the Venetian ambassador to hear mass in his own house, nor nearer it than at two leagues distance from the town.

Hitherto we had very tolerable way from Geneva, much of it through large corn-fields, vineyards, and woods; but now, drawing near the Alps, we began to

find the country more barren and mountainous. Mr. Pell told me that at Zurich he could see snow out of his window, upon neighbouring hills to the town, all summer long.

Having staid a day at Zurich, we took boat the next, intending for Laken, twelve leagues off, a small town seated at the end of the lake, over which we saw a narrow bridge of planks eight hundred paces in length, called the bridge of Rabsveld.

Three hours further we came to Weizen on horse-back, and in the afternoon embarked upon another lake of the same name with the town, which at night brought us to Wallenstaff. From Wallenstaff we had very ill way (amongst hills covered with snow) to the town where we dined, called Regats; and in two hours from thence we passed the famous river of Reines, where it was not above half a yard deep nor eight yards over, within a mile of its first spring.

This river separates Switzerland from Rhætia, or the country of the Grisons, which lies much among the Alps.

Rhætia is a commonwealth of itself, governed much after the same manner as that of Switzerland, being with it joined in a perpetual league and friendship since the year 1498. The first canton is called Liga Grisa, or the Upper League; the second, Liga cas di Dio, or that of the House of God; the third, Liga delle Diex Communitate, or that of the Ten Communities; of which it consists.

In three hours after we had passed the Reine we arrived at Chur, the first town of this country, and indeed the only walled town of all the cantons, the rest being sufficiently fortified by nature amongst those craggy hills where they lie scattered.

The houses here are most of them of free-stone, and two stories high, much surpassing those in other towns in these parts, where they seldom exceed one, with

windows not above a foot square, lest too much air should enter to cool their stoves.

This town is situated at the foot of a great hill, a little river passing through it. On one side is the bishop's house, and an antient church. Near to these a great number of houses surrounded with a wall called the Bishopric, where the Romanists are only allowed to live, the rest of the inhabitants being reformists.

They hold that the first person that converted that country from paganism to christianity was one Lucius, an Englishman, in commemoration of whom there is a chapel, long since built on the side of the hill, where once a year they go in procession to pay their devotions.

From Chur we had ten hours to Borgon, where we rather chose to lie upon benches than in nasty beds. Here they began to speak a corrupt Italian mixed with Dutch. It stands at the foot of one of the highest Alps, called Albula. We were a great part of the next morning climbing of it; when we arrived at the top we happily found not much snow, and better weather, but the descent very dangerous and slippery, having lately thawed and frozen the night before, so that the passage was a continual ice, steep withal, and not a yard broad in some places. On the left hand of the way was the rise of the hill, on the right a steep descent, and so armed with the points of rocks, that some laden mules falling down not long before we passed, were broken in several pieces ere they came to the bottom. Here Mr. Berry, of our company, not willing to light as the rest did, fell down, horse and all; where he had certainly perished, had he not miraculously stopped upon a great stone ere he fell two yards, which saved them both from much harm. In seven hours we passed this hill, and about two in the afternoon came to Lepante, where we refreshed ourselves, and in three hours more came safe *to our lodging* at Pontrazin, a very mean one, seated at

the foot of the mountain Bellina. The next day we found this more easy than that of Albula; the passage less steep, the descent slippy, but not so narrow. On the top of it we passed a large plain three leagues in compass, and within it three large lakes. We overcame this hill in six hours, dined at Posiagore, and lodged at Madonna di Tyrano. This is the first town within Valtalin, so called *quasi vallis tellina*, though no spacious country, yet populous and fruitful, much of it subject to the Grisons, the rest to the Spaniards: there grows a sort of sweet dark-coloured wine, not unlike Muscadine, esteemed throughout Italy and Switzerland. The hills are well covered with wood, especially pine trees; the seeds of the apples are as large as hazel-nuts, containing a kernel much tasted like them; those woods abound with wild beasts, such as boars, goats, bears, wolves, roes, and red deer.

But here a word or two of the Swiss. That they came originally from the Gauls, was the opinion in Cæsar's time, for he says, that they exceed the rest of the Gauls in deeds of arms. Suetonius also calls them *Gens Gallica turbidi ingenii*, an unquiet or troublesome sort of French, which two characters of stout and boisterous may not unfitly be applied to them at this day. Besides this, they are believed very faithful and trusty, which reputation (with that of their courage) prefers them before others to the service of the Pope, the King of France, and many other princes, as guards to their persons, and soldiers in their wars. But this fidelity is no longer binding than they are well paid, believing it no defamation of a true mercenary to mutiny for his pay, which gave rise to the proverb, *point d'argent, point de Swisse;* no pay no Swiss.

They are of little stature, spread and strong, fair, hardy and inured to labour from their infancy; they never change their mode, which is great trunk breeches, slashed and laced with silk lace, the lining of some

coloured stuff appearing underneath; they have doublets with long skirts and bonnets, for in towns the hats are forbidden.

What gentlemen may except from democracy sufficiently appears in this, where there is none left that dare pretend to a better quality, one than another. A person of quality I met with at Chur, of that country, assured me, that though his ancestors had been barons, and himself seised of a good estate, as also of a castle which had formerly the privilege of a county palatine, he was forced to comply and associate himself with the meanest peasants, to avoid the jealousy and prejudice of his neighbours.

The best man in the town is commonly mine host, and should a traveller think himself imposed upon, or notoriously cheated in his reckoning, as strangers commonly are there, and go to complain to the chief magistrate, he would find his host the first man on the bench. They drink excessively, and the greatest affront you can do them is not to pledge them. Their festivals last whole days, none rising except it be for evacuation, till they be taken up. They lie between two feather beds, and use no hearths, but stoves. Their women are esteemed chaste, the coldness of the country rather inclining them to good fellowship than venery, which may be some reason why their country is most clear of the French pox, though others impute it to some occult quality in the air.

The first canton that disclaimed the papacy was Zurich. *Occasio fuit* (says my author) *indignatio ex eo concepta, quòd incolis stipendia quæ sibi à papâ Julio secundo deberi asserebant, non fuissent numerata. Zuinglio Iratis faces subdente, anno* 1528, 26 *Januar., Missam per totum suum territorium aboleverunt; in cujus locum Cœnam substituerunt.* This Zuinglius was a minister, a great promoter of the opinion of Luther, at Zurich, where he was not only allowed their chief as

to spirituals, but also of their army, till he was killed in the field, in the year 1530. *In Rætiâ liberum est unicuique pro arbitrio vivere*, amongst the Grisons every man enjoys liberty of conscience; their first revolt from the see of Rome, was about one hundred and twenty years since; Paulus, secretary to Maximilian the emperor, being bishop of Chur, against whom they rose up in arms, and forced him to sign this article: *Quòd totæ regioni Protestantis, Religionis exercitium permitteret.*

The first endeavours of these converts were to persuade the people of Valtalina, at that time their subjects, to embrace their opinion; to that purpose erecting schools, and sending ministers for the instruction both of the young and old, which the Valtalinians not approving of, and not openly able to oppose, rose by general consent in one day, and barbarously cut the throats of all the protestants amongst them; throwing themselves upon it into the protection of the governor of Milan, for the Catholic King, to which the Grisons making the French a party, that by this means was shut out of his usual passage into Italy, made it the ground of a long war; so much easier is it to conquer the body than the mind.

From Tyrano our way lay through the country where grows that excellent wine of Valtalina, till we came to the last of the Alps, called La Briga, not so high as the two former, yet as steep, and the passage withal so slippy and narrow, that we were forced in places to creep upon our hands and knees; this took us three hours going up. At the top we found a level country, the descent being scarce perceptible, which brought us into Italy.

Of Italy.

We refreshed ourselves at Edolo, a little town, and the first in the Venetian state; in three hours' time we got to our lodgings at Codegolo.

The next day we arrived at Bray, through the most dangerous part for robberies in all our travels, where the banditti, or banished (a more usual way of punishment in Italy than by death) subsist upon these skirts of the country by preying upon passengers. Our guide told us he had been thrice set upon in this place, never escaping without some of his company either killed or robbed.

Some days before we passed, the country hereabout had risen by general consent, to suppress near a hundred of them in a company; they met at a bridge which the banditti desperately made good against fifteen times their number, till they were all either killed or taken, but with great loss of the countrymen, as the great quantity of blood upon the place made appear.

From Bray, in five hours, we arrived at Lonex, situated upon a lake called Lago d'Ileo, where we lay all night. The next day, after riding thirty Italian miles, scarce so long as our English ones, we came to Bergamo, in Lombardy, a handsome large city, and well fortified; the town stands on the top of a hill, the suburbs underneath, beautified with several fair churches, especially that of Santa Maria Majorie, where there are landscapes of natural-coloured wood joined together, or inlaid, so done to the life, that they would pass for painted by some extraordinary hand. This city was long subject to the dukes of Milan, till in the year 1516, it came under the power of the Venetians, as it now continues.

In the next day's journey, of thirty-two miles, to Brescia, the warmness of the weather and the pleasant-

ness of the country convinced us of being arrived at last in Italy.

The first twelve miles was most of it pasture; the other twenty, vineyards and arable together. Elms planted in the furze at a handsome distance, supporting each of them a vine, which, spreading themselves amongst the boughs, bear great quantities of grapes, without the least prejudice to the corn.

Amongst other towns we passed by, ere we came to Brescia, the most remarkable for its inhabitants is Valcomonica, who have generally under their chins a great tumour, or swelling, hanging down from their throat, which gives a double proportion to the face; the reason of this they impute to the ill water of the country, being nothing but melted snow from the hills, which they drink with their wines.

Brescia is an ancient city, built (says Livy) by the Gauls, when Rome was governed by kings; it is built with brick of a round form, watered by a brook called Garcia, or Mella, and though not great in itself, scarce three miles in compass, commands a fruitful territory of one hundred miles long and fifty broad.

The castle stands on the top of a hill, encompassed with three ditches, manned by three hundred and sixty soldiers, where the Venetian governor resides, and is sworn not to go out of it till another be sent to relieve him.

The best church is that of Santa Julia, built by Desiderio, king of the Lombards, in the year 753; to it appertains a famous nunnery, where the sister and daughter of the said king, two daughters of the emperor Lotar, a sister of Charles the Third, and others of royal extraction, have retired themselves.—Not only the neatest, but best tempered arms are made here, of all Italy.

The day following we passed by the castle of Peschiera, thought to be the centre of the Venetian

state, and the only pass from all the countries thereabout to Venice.

Here they began to be very strict in examining our bills of health, which, as the custom obliges in time of infection, we were now forced to take from the officers of the towns, as we passed, to show whence we came. We lay that night at Castle Nove, three miles short of Verona, where we arrived the next morning betimes.

The city Verona (from Vera, the name of a once flourishing family there) stands in a plain, near the mountains on the south, and is computed to be seven miles about, besides the suburbs, well fortified by the Venetians, with bastions, bulwark, castle, and deep trenches, filled with water from the river Adice.

What chiefly denotes the antiquity of the city is the theatre, as also an amphitheatre, built, as it is conjectured, by Augustus, called by the inhabitants L'Arena. This is the most entire I ever saw; the outside has in it many squares of marble, several arches and pillars, some wrought the Doric way, some the Ionic, some the Corinthian, and some mixed. The figure of it is oval, having four and thirty perches in length, and two and twenty in breadth; it is surrounded with two and forty rows of benches, one above another, to receive three and twenty spectators, under which there are several back stairs and doors to pass out or in, without incommoding one another.

Not far from this are the ruins of a triumphal arch, erected to C. Marius, for conquering the Limbri, near to this city.

The palaces are many; the gardens extraordinary, especially that of Signor Augusto Justo, for not only great variety of plants, flowers, and greens, but for volories of birds, grottoes, fountains, from whence water throws itself by the turning of keys, in the shape of birds and beasts.

From Verona, we had thirteen miles to Vicenza, a

little well-built city, much resembling Bergamo. It stands at the foot of a hill, watered with two rivers, only fortified with walls. There are the ruins of an amphitheatre; the palaces are fair and numerous, the churches are in number seven and fifty, most of them well beautified with modern and antient pictures; there are fourteen of them parish churches, seventeen belonging to fraternities, and twelve to nunneries. It is a bishoprick worth 12,000 ducats per annum, a great revenue in that country, every ducat being of about the value of our crown sterling.

The garden of the Signor Contellalmarana is remarkable for the stately cedars, orange and lemon trees it abounds with.

This city delivered itself freely up into the power of the state of Venice, after many changes of masters, about the year 1340, in consideration of which, they enjoy the privilege of deciding all matters, whether civil or criminal, by their own citizens.

The territory belonging to this city is large and fruitful, bringing yearly into the Venetian treasury eighty thousand ducats. It affords excellent wines of several colours and tastes, all sorts of grain and fruits, fowl in abundance, as partridge, francolins, or goodwits, cocks of the mountain, a sort of fowl called tetriones by the Labines, or tetrices, a large bird not unlike a pheasant, of a delicious taste, and particular to the Alps.

From Vicenza we arrived in Padua November 13, 1656, a large city, and an university, planted here by Frederick, the second emperor, in the year 1222, furnished with students from all parts of Europe, invited by the liberty allowed them there, both as to religion and other respects.

The town is situated in a large place, encompassed with a double wall and deep ditch, watered by the river Brenta, and regularly fortified after the modern use.

The most remarkable place is a large hall, eighty-six feet broad, and two hundred and fifty-six long, without prop or pillar to support the roof, covered with lead. Over the four gates stand the statues of four considerable men of this country's production; one is an antient one of Titus Livius. In the wall is his tomb, with this epitaph—*V. F. T. Livius liviæ, T. F. Quartæ L. Italis concordialis, sibi et suis omnibus.*

The schools are a handsome pile of building, having a square court in the middle, with double galleries, supported with great pillars: here the theatre for dissection is very extraordinary.

The colleges are ten, very poorly endowed; some of them receive and maintain six scholars with meat, drink, and lodging, and seven ducats to every one yearly; some colleges more, some less, but the chiefest is called Collegio Prattense, which hath twenty scholarships, each of them worth twenty ducats per annum.

The sciences most studied in this university are law and physic. It is governed by two syndics, annually chosen by the votes of scholars; one is of the lawyers and other artists, and the other of the physicians. Mr. Finch, an Englishman, was syndic at my being there. Under the syndics there are consuls, of which every nation has one.

In the schools public lectures are read mornings and afternoons, of law, physic, philosophy, humanity, and frequently of anatomy. Most that pass this way enter themselves of this university for the immunities they enjoy thereby, both here and elsewhere in the state of Venice. If they have a mind to pass doctor, little learning procures it with as little expence, the greatest difficulty to obtain it being the applying for it.

The great church or cathedral, called El Domo, is a fair structure and well endowed, maintaining twenty-seven canons, sixty priests, besides masters of grammar, music, and other sciences. Here are the antient monu-

ments of Henry the Fourth, King of Padua, and of Berta, his wife, as also of two cardinals.

The church of St. Anthony, of Padua, is little inferior, being paved with polished marble, and having in it several large pillars of the same; within it are seven chapels, that of this Saint the greatest, and beautified with excellent pictures, representing his miracles, drawn by the chiefest men in that art. In the midst of this chapel stands the altar, under which lies his body, and over it stand seven excellent statues of marble, wrought by the famous Titian. This Saint died 1231, and was canonized by Gregory the Ninth, six years after. Here are several reliques, as the tongue and chin of this Saint; a rag that they tell was dipped in the blood of our Saviour, some wood of the true cross, some of the hair and milk of our Lady, with the bones of several Saints, all which are in silver boxes, gilded and curiously carved.

Besides the revenue of the convent belonging to this church, the Saint himself, (to speak in their own phrase), enjoys a considerable income, and has a great deal of plate and rich furniture, which is regulated and taken care of by the stewards, or seven presidents, usually called the Masters of Saint Anthony's Chest.

The next remarkable church is that of St. Justina, where the order of St. Benedict was first instituted. This is also well endowed, and abounds with plate and reliques, as some of St. Luke's, others of Prosdosimus, a great disciple of St. Peter's, who converted Padua to Christianity, baptized Justina, that here afterwards suffered martyrdom, and others. This is the bishop's church. In the church-yard is this epitaph:

Adolescens tametsi properas,
Hoc te saxum rogat ut se aspicias.
Divide quod scriptum est; legas,
Hîc sunt poetæ Pacuvii sita ossa:
Hoc volebam nescius recesses.—Vale.

Besides these, there are several churches, convents, monasteries, and palaces, especially two, the bishop's and the captain's, or prefects of the city, where they show choice statues, pictures, and medals. To the captain's there is a cave that leads under ground, which passes under the river.

Padua, after many changes of fortune, came into the power of the Venetians, 1405, and is now governed by a podesta, as other cities are of that state, of which I may hint more hereafter.

The season of the year, as well as the danger of travelling, confined me to this place and Venice till the spring. I staid sometimes at the one, sometimes at the other, hoping by that time the passage might be open to Genoa, Rome, Naples, and other places of note, at that time miserably infected with the plague.

The Description of Venice.

In January we first went for Venice, down the river Brenta to Lizafusina, twenty miles distant from Padua, where that river terminates, in that part of the gulf commonly called the marshes; thence we rowed to Venice in two hours.

Not to trouble the reader with a long description of a city so exactly done by others, I shall only say, that it stands upon several islands in the Adriatic Sea, so enlarged by artificial foundations, and joined together by bridges, that it appears no less uniform and stately, than if it had chosen its situation upon Terra Firma.

Most of the streets are divided in the middle by canals; the largest of which, called Canal Grande, is in length one thousand three hundred, in breadth forty feet: over this is the bridge Realto, of one arch, which is supposed to be the finest in the world; it cost in *building* two hundred and fifty thousand ducats. The

lesser streets have channels proportionable, where you and your goods are speedily conveyed into all parts of the town, in gundoles or boats, having causeways on each side as you pass, and bridges in every street for the convenience of such as go on foot: boats are the only sort of carriage for all things whatsoever that this city affords, and of greater use than our coaches or carts, considering the situation of the houses, which open to the water either forward or backward.

The palaces of this city are numerous and stately, built of stone of Istria; some of them have coins, or quoins, frizes, and pillars of marble, *Quorum magnificentiæ* (says one), *primatorum aut mediocris fortunæ hominum captum superare videtur.*

That of the Patriarchs is one of the first, where we saw some ancient statues of the Roman gods, as of Bacchus, Mercury, Pallus, Venus, and others; as also some little couches or beds on which the Romans used to discumb, or lie upon, *quando lectisternia faciebant*, when they made feasts in their temples in honour of their gods. Upon these are engraved certain characters signifying vows made to the god Bellinus, formerly in great veneration among the Aquileians, from whom these were taken, with many other antiquities, at the razing of one of their chief cities, and a Roman colony, by Attila, King of the Hunns.

The duke's palace, adjoining to the church of St. Mark, is a large square, with a court in the middle, arched round, where there are several highly-prized statues, especially four on the stair-case leading to the gallery, of Neptune and Mars, Adam and Eve; at the further end of the gallery is a large room where the duke and nobles perform matters of ceremony, such as giving audience to ambassadors, and sometimes the election of officers, and the like.

Hear I saw the creation of a procurator of St. Mark, a principal officer in that state, of which there are only

nine, every one being allowed his palace in the market-place of St. Mark, built of stone, exquisitely carved at the charge of the state, sixty-six feet high. None used to be admitted to this honour, but such as deserved extraordinarily well of the state, till its poverty, since their wars with the Turks, made it vendible. It was said to cost the person 200,000 crowns. The ceremony was thus: the person that was to be created, attended with most of the nobility, passed through the Meneria, some streets in Venice so called, where they sell nothing but stuffs, gracing the passage with hanging out the richest their shops afford, till he came to the church of St. Mark.

Here he heard mass, and then went to attend the duke, whom he found in the aforesaid great room, seated under a canopy, with four procurators on one hand, and four on the other. After a short speech made to the duke (wherein he engages his faith and service to the commonwealth) he received a little red velvet purse containing a key, from the duke, and with that his order, which done, he takes session with the other eight of his fraternity, and so ends the ceremony.

From this room we passed through two large halls, to come to that where the great council meets, containing seventy-three feet in breadth and an hundred and fifty in length, adorned with excellent pictures of the most considerable battles fought with success, by the state, as namely, that so famous one at sea with Frederick, the first emperor, in defence of Pope Alexander the Third, who, before ousted by the emperor, was by this victory restored to the papacy, in the year 1577; another, of their regaining of Constantinople from the Saracens for the emperor; with many others. For the rest of the rooms, especially the duke's own apartments, they are very extraordinary, but as to the particulars I shall pass them over. This palace is now covered with plates of brass, *the lead* upon it having often been melted by lightning.

Joining unto it (as I have said) is the church of St. Mark, though not the cathedral, yet the most esteemed of this city; within it are the best pieces of Mosaic work, (believed in the world) as the portraits of St. Francis and St. Dominic, made (if you will believe it) by the direction of the great diviner Grovachino, an abbot, before they were born; the figures of cocks, foxes, lions, &c. which they tell you are hieroglyphical prophecies of the said abbot's, concerning this state. The walls are of marble, the pavement of small pieces of porphyry, and various other coloured stones: in it are thirty-six pillars of polished marble, each of two feet diameter, and the statues of several saints so exactly shaped in white marble, that they seem alive. To this church belong four brazen gates. In one of the porches lies a square red stone, on which Alexander the Third put his foot upon the neck of Frederick the emperor, repeating at the same time this verse of the Psalms:—*Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem.* At which the emperor replied, being angry, *Non tibi sed Petro:* the pope returned, *Et mihi et Petro.*

The reliques of greatest esteem here are some of the blood of our Saviour, and the body of St. Mark, brought hither by merchants from Alexandria, in the year 829.

The steeple stands something distant from the church, being two hundred and thirty feet high, and forty broad; the ascent of it winding, and so easy, that Henry the Third of France is said to have rid up to the top on horseback, as he passed this way from Poland. In an apartment joining to the church is the treasury of the procurators of St. Mark, containing divers images of saints, crowns of massy gold, a sapphire of incredible size; a large diamond, given them by Henry the Third of France; two white unicorn's horns; a large urn, all set with precious stones, presented to the republic by a king of Persia, the ducal cap of great

value, and much more. All this is upon the market-place of St. Mark, of a good length, and an hundred and twenty feet broad, surrounded with fair houses and palaces, which correspond one to another, arched, and open below to the street, for the shelter of such as walk underneath them in the time of heat or ill weather.

This place is usually well stored with diversity of company, led hither either upon pleasure or business. The noble Venetians have a peculiar walk to themselves; in other parts, persons of meaner quality, strangers and merchants, from several parts of the world, have theirs, as Turks, Persians, Sclavonians, Grecians, and Jews; in fine, people of so many different languages and habits, that it is a just surprise to see so much of the world in so narrow a place.

Carnival quasi Carnivale, or the farewell to flesh, being betwixt Christmas and Lent, is a time of extraordinary mirth and jollity throughout Italy, but especially at Venice, which they solemnize with stage plays, indeed no better than farces; operas, which are usually tragedies, sung in music, and much advantaged by variety of scenes and machines; bull-baitings, and other sports, particular to this place, as sow-baiting, by blinded men with staves, till they bait her to death; wrestling upon the bridges by watermen, tumbling one another into the channels, till the conquerors have not an adversary left to cast into the water; but this last they practise more frequently in summer; going in mascara, or disguise, is their constant diversion all days in the week, in Carnival, except Fridays, where the greatest art is to find out the most ugly vizard, and the most extravagant dress. If women ever wear the breeches in Italy, it is then, with whom the men change habits; some persons you shall meet booted and spurred, as if lately arrived, offering you letters, which, if you peruse, you shall find smutty and abusive, but must not take it ill, all things being pardoned that are done in

Carnival, except blows. To act the Frenchman, they go frisking to the sound of a guitar and a pair of tongs, with a great many yards of cut paper of several colours, for ribbons, and bells for buttons.

The Dutchman they represent with a carbuncled vizard, a bottle in his hand, and half a dozen at his girdle, staggering and sipping at every step.

One fancy was a pair of horns upon the front of a vizard, with this inscription: *Hodiè mihi, cras tibi.* Others dance antiques, where they meet with convenient room, dressed like satyrs, apes, and savages, to excellent concerts of music they carry with them. Some walk wrapped in a sheet, as if new started out of their graves, bringing for news that the devil is dead, or the like stuff. In fine, you see almost as many different dresses and extravagances as men, as if the folly of this nation reserved itself the rest of the year to deboard itself more violently at that time.

The last day of Carnival they grow from merry to stark mad, driving loose bulls through the streets, carrying arms in their disguise (which is only allowed that day), more notoriously abusing and often fighting with those they meet; and the day after, which is Ash-Wednesday, fall into the quite contrary extreme of melancholy and contrition, lay ashes upon their heads, put on sackcloth, go to confession, do penance, and begin an abstinence of forty days.

Besides those islands whereon the town itself stands, there are other neighbouring ones, as that of Murano, a mile distant from Venice, which, for stately buildings and number of churches, appears another city. Here the best Venice glasses are made, so much esteemed throughout the world.

On the other side stands the island of St. Gregory, and in it is a beautiful church dedicated to St. George, all built of marble, rich in statues, plate, and the tombs of several dukes.

Here is also a monastery of Benedictines, to which belong extraordinary conveniences as to lodgings, offices, gardens, and library.

In Venice are reckoned seventeen hospitals, sixty-seven parish churches, fifty-four convents of friers, twenty-six nunneries, eighteen oratories, and six schools.

In these churches are the bodies of fifty saints, one hundred and forty-three pair of organs, one hundred and sixty-five statues of marble, and twenty-three of brass, erected by the republic in commemoration of such as have signally served their country.

In the church of St. Luke lies interred Peter Aretin, that obscene profane poet, with this epitaph, till the inquisitors took it away, "*Qui jace Aretin, poeta Tusco, qui dice mal d'ogni uno fuora di Dio; scusandosi dicendo, Io no'l cognosco.*"—Here Aretin, the Tuscan poet, lies, who all the world abused but God, and why? he said he knew him not.

This city hath 450 bridges of stone, and 80,000 gundoles, hackney and others.

The arsenal of Venice is very extraordinary both for its structure and provisions, seated at a corner of the town, surrounded by a strong wall, and the sea being two miles about it. Here they have all sorts of arms offensive and defensive, both for sea and land service, great quantities of ammunition, all materials for making and rigging out of all vessels, whether frigates or galleys, all tools useful to armourers, gun-smiths, ship-carpenters, and such-like tradesmen, of which 'tis said there are three hundred daily kept at work by the state. It is certain they were well provided with all necessaries; when once, upon an emergency, it is said, they prepared and rigged forth thirty galleys in ten days' time.

This city, as some say, was built in the year 300, by the inhabitants of Aquilia, Heraclia, Pasania, and other *cities of* Lombardy, who being driven from their own

houses by Attilus, King of the Hunns, refuged themselves in this corner of the country, and laid the foundation of this, since flourishing commonwealth.

The government is argued to be good and politic from its stability, which never suffered any change from its first institution; none in Europe being able to boast of the like continuance.

It is, first, partly monarchical, having a duke or superior governor elected out of the nobility, whose authority, notwithstanding, is so limited and restrained, that he can do nothing of public concern without the consent of the senate, where he has no more but his single vote, of equal validity with that of others, though all edicts and decrees pass in his name.

Secondly, partly aristocratical, things of the greatest moment being discussed and resolved on by a decemvirate, or the council of ten, to whom the duke, fifteen senators, and six councillors, are added, and what is here agreed on is irrevocable.

Thirdly, democratical, in respect of the senate, or grand council, consisting of about two hundred and twenty-five persons of the nobility, who must be twenty-five years old ere they can be chosen into this number.

Here all embassies from foreign princes are delivered; here they resolve upon peace and war, upon raising of monies, nominate their generals, choose their ambassadors and other public officers.

The manner of election is this:—the prince, seated on his tribunal, in his ducal robes, with the nobility about him, the chancellor first exhorts them to make choice of fit officers, and then nominates the first competitor or suitor; to express their allowance or refusal of whom, they put each of them a little ball into a box, brought to them by boys for that purpose; the inside of one being white, the other green, but so contrived that none but the persons that put them in know where they fall, whereby the opposers avoid all envy. It,

upon opening the box, most balls be found in the white division, *Legitima confecit suffragia*, he carries the place; if in the green, it is voted against him, and then they proceed to the next.

They have one laudable rule, never to reject a man for his poverty, provided he be a noble Venetian, and have parts, but rather choose such into places of profit, which are very rare in that state, by reason of the few taxes laid upon the people, the small stipends allowed to officers, and the great charges they are at, which, usually defrayed out of their own estates, proves the ruin of their families, of their dukes as well as others, whose revenue is but forty thousand ducats from the public treasury.

The government of other cities subject to the state of Venice, differs according to the manner of their acquisition: such as render themselves without blows, as Vicenza, enjoying immunities which others do not, as being allowed councils of their own citizens, officers of their own chusing, and the trial of all matters whether civil or criminal, by themselves, the signor podesta, or governor, having no more than his single vote, as the rest of the council have.

In other places, though they are sometimes allowed their own councillors and officers; yet, they have no determinative power, but must appeal to the podesta, who confirms or disallows, as he thinks fit.

The podestas are chosen out of the nobility of Venice, by the grand council, and sent to the several governments belonging to the state, to whom captains or prefects are joined; in some places they usually continue their charge a whole year.

The noble Venetians wear one sort of habit within the town, a long black gown with large sleeves, girt close to the waist, and a woven cap of the same colour, which they rather lay upon their heads than put on.

None used to be admitted into the number of the

Venetian nobility but foreign princes, as Henry the Third of France, and others, or such as had done some considerable piece of service for his country, till the great charge the state hath been at in their late wars with the Turks, made it mercenary, having caused it to be sold of late, and at the rate of near an hundred thousand crowns.

In the beginning of March, 1656, arrived an ambassador extraordinary from Muscovy, who had a very splendid reception, being the first ever sent from that prince to the state of Venice.

About the same time the Jesuits were recalled, and restored to their colleges, from whence they had been banished for having busied themselves too much formerly in state affairs. I cannot here omit mentioning the ceremonies wherewith the Venetians end Lent.

The Thursday before Good Friday a general procession was made through several parts of the city, especially St. Mark's place: five hundred persons all in white, led the van, with lighted torches in their hands, following one another in order; after these came six persons, their faces masked, but their bodies bare from their hips upwards, scourging their own backs with whips, with iron at the ends of the lashes, like the rowels of a spur, till they bled, in obedience to their confessors, who for some grand crime had enjoined them this severe penance; these were followed by the churchmen, and they by an infinite number of others, till having gone the round, they came into St. Mark's church, and fell down one after another before the blood of our Saviour, which they believe to have been miraculously preserved here ever since his passion; and so went their way.

The next day being Good Friday, the duke, with the greatest part of the nobility, in the afternoon went in procession round the place of St. Mark, then to vespers in St. Mark's church, which continued till the hour they believe our Saviour suffered, when all the candles,

torches, and lamps being put out, to figure the eclipse of the sun which then happened, the friers, by striking against the benches and seats with hammers, make a hideous and dismal noise, in similitude of the earthquake, and the rending of the temple in twain; which done, a deep silence gave them leave to fall to their prayers; which done, they departed.

April the 7th, 1657, I left Venice, to go for Florence, which had all this time continued clear from the infection.

The first day I came to Padua, where I took horses and a guide to Ferrara. In our way we lay the first night at Ringe, a little town, well built, subject to the Venetians, and hath in it a church dedicated to our Lady, little inferior for its bigness to any in Italy.

Seven miles from Ringe we left the territory of Venice and entered that of the pope; six miles beyond that we passed the river Padus or Po, and in one more came to Ferrara. Though this city be not altogether so antient as others of Italy, not having been built above eight hundred years, it is esteemed one of the prime ones in the pope's dominions, both for its riches and strength. Its first growth was under the Marquis of Este, a potent family of this city, under whom it was erected into a duchy, some two hundred years ago, and so continued till the masculine line failing, it became subject to Pope Clement the Eighth, in the year 1598. It has an university, but a mean one, planted by Frederick, the second emperor, in opposition to Bologna.

The monastery Della Certosa nel Barco, is very remarkable, being a sumptuous building, built at the great charge of Borso del Este, Marquis of Ferrara, whose body lies buried in the domo or cathedral.

On the left hand as you enter the choir of the same church, lies interred Urban, the third pope, under a mean monument.

The next day my comrade and self took post for Bologna, thirty miles distant from Ferrara, hoping by that means to arrive there early enough to take a view of the town the same day, but were disappointed by the badness of our horses, which proved such jades, as Italian horses generally do, that we had much ado to perform two stages, so that we were forced to lie at St. George, a village ten miles short of Bologna.

The next day, finding that way of travelling neither profitable nor expeditious, we endeavoured to procure hackney horses to Bologna, but could not, the post-master assuring us that none durst there furnish us with any convenience of travelling but himself, (the custom in those parts imposing on those who come post on a journey to go post); and so furnished us with horses that in three hours time, with much ado, brought us to Bologna.

Bologna was the capital of twelve cities, which the Tuscans were once masters of, beyond the Appenine mountains, all which being sacked by the Gauls, and the Gauls afterwards expelled by the Romans, this city was made a colony, three thousand Romans being sent at one time to inhabit it. After this it became subject to the Grecians and Lombards, till at last reduced to such slavery, under the faction of Lambertazzi and Geremei, it put itself into the protection of the pope, and afterwards under that of other masters, from whom it soon revolted again to the pope, and so has continued ever since.

Bologna is seated near the Appenine mountains, in the midst of Via Emilia, watered by the river Reno. It has twelve gates, is two miles long, one broad, and five in compass, well furnished with all sorts of provisions, whence it is proverbially called Bologna grassa, fat Bologna.

Amongst other fruits, they most brag here of their olives, as large and sweet as those of Spain. Here they

drive a great trade in making all sorts of silks, velvets, satins especially.

The town is well built, adorned with 179 churches, great palaces, and generally good houses of stone, all arched to the street, for the shelter of such as walk there in ill weather. In the midst of the town stands a well wrought fountain of marble, and in a place not far from it a very high tower; by that another, which stands so leaning from the foundation, that the top overhangs the foot on one side some yards, by the skilful contrivance of the architect.

The principal church is that of Saint Peter, adjoining to the bishop's palace, where are the monuments of several cardinals, bishops, and persons of great quality.

This church has exquisite pictures, statues, reliques, and plate, both of silver and gold.

Secondly—That of Petronio, titular saint of the city, of an extraordinary size, where Charles the Fifth was confirmed emperor, and received the crown of thorns from Clement the Seventh.

Thirdly—That belonging to the monastery of St. Katherine, where this she-saint lies buried, whose nails of her feet and hands they assert to grow to this day, as if she was living.

Fourthly—That belonging to the rich and famous convent of the Dominicans, where St. Dominick himself lies buried, the shrine encompassing him beautified with three hundred several pictures.

Here they show you a thorn, which they tell you was off the crown of thorns worn by our Saviour; the Old Testament, written in Hebrew by the prophet Esdras, in white leather; the monument of St. Patriarc, that instituted the order of preaching friers; and of a king of Sardinia. This convent is built after the modern use, and one of the finest in Italy, affording accommodations to one hundred and fifty friers.

The university was planted in this city by the Em-

peror Theodicias, in the year 425, but afterwards much amplified by the Emperors Carolus Magnus and Lotario. The fabric of the schools exceeds those of Padua. The colleges are not many, but there are three peculiar to foreigners, one for Spaniards, another for Piamonters, and one for strangers, of what country soever.

Azone, writing of this university, says—*Legalium studiorum monarchiam tenuit Bononia;* and another calls it *Mater studiorum*, which agrees with the proverb—*Bononia docet.*

The chief studies here are the civil law and divinity.

Having spent one day in taking a view of this city, I went the next afternoon with the procatzzio for Florence, the usual conductor of passengers betwixt Bologna and that place.

In the first eight miles we passed twenty several little brooks or rivulets on horseback. The next morning we began to climb the Appenine hills, but came to none considerable till the afternoon, when we passed the mountain Joco, where we met with so great a storm that we were forced to alight to escape being blown from our horses. We went that day five and thirty miles, and the next twelve, to Florence, upon a continued causeway all over these hills.

Florence is situated in a large fruitful valley, watered by the river Arno, over which are four great bridges in several parts of the city. It is five miles round, and has eight gates.

After we had entered, which was not without difficulty, till they knew whence we came, and had passed through several spacious and well built streets, I began to think it no compliment of the Venetian ambassador's to the Great Duke, when he told him that it was a city never to be shown but on festival days.

The government of this city has often changed, sometimes having been subject to the emperor, then to a senate of a hundred fathers, or grave persons, then by

ten of the chief citizens elected from among the rest; but none of these were lasting, by reason of continual jarrings betwixt the gentlemen and the burghers, and sometimes betwixt the gentlemen themselves, as the white and the black factions, (Guelfi and Gebellini, and others), till at length the chief of the family of the Medici, being richer than the rest, had so many of the chief citizens his creditors, that for part of payment they were forced to allow him a superiority over them, which he practised with great moderation, never accepting of any title, though the whole management of business was referred to him. This was Cosmus de Medici, to whom succeeded Alexander, who, (having got Pope Clement the Seventh for his relation, and the bastard of the Emperor Charles the Fifth to wife) obtained the title of the Grand Duke of Tuscany from the emperor, but was soon afterwards murdered by his cousin, under pretence of zeal to restore liberty to his country.

Cosmus the First succeeded him in the duchy; Franciscus, the next, married a Venetian dame, who, to revenge her anger conceived against Ferdinand de Medici, her husband's brother, intended to poison him with a dish of meat, which by mistake being carried to her husband, occasioned his death, and afterwards her own, eating wilfully of the same, when informed of the accident.

Ferdinand, instead of a tomb, by this means obtained a throne, and was succeeded by Cosmus the Second, father to the present Duke Ferdinand the Second.

The palaces are numerous; the first and best is that of the Grand Duke, built by one Petty, a burgher of Florence, to outvie one Strozzi, another wealthy citizen, who had before erected the then best in the town, but so inferior to this, that the middle court would contain the other palace, and its windows carry proportion to the doors of that of Strozzi. But the founder ruining himself by such a vast expence, was forced, when

finished, to sell it to the Great Duke's predecessors, who since, by enlarging it at both ends, have certainly made it the finest in Europe. The outside is of freestone, wrought after the Tuscan manner; the stones of a vast size; the front of the house is three hundred paces long. On one side of the court lies a square loadstone four yards about, every way; on the other side a large fountain, well stored with fish.

The first story, besides others, hath four and twenty chambers on a floor, in a right line, as large as ordinary halls, the doors opening so directly upon one another, that you have an easy perspective from the first to the last; these contain the whole length of the house, of three hundred paces, before mentioned.

The furniture was but ordinary; the season beginning to grow hot, the walls were but either covered with sarsnet, or bare. The guardrobe was well provided with rich furniture; the hangings for one apartment were wrought in pearls; the beds, chairs, and stools embroidered with gold drawn into small wire. These cost five hundred thousand crowns; all the pictures in the house, but especially those in the upper rooms, are of great value, drawn by hands of the most knowing men in that art of all ages.

The statues are both excellent and numerous, many of them made by Michael Angelo, the most famous of our modern carvers.

The lower rooms, all wrought with mosaic, are very spacious; and so cool, by reason of the holes in the floors, through which the air breathes out of the caves below, that the Great Duke makes choice of them in the greatest heats for his apartments.

In some bye-chambers we saw several mathematical devices; one demonstrating the perpetual motion, another, that either by land or sea, if you see the fire of a cannon, or hear the report, and desire to know at what distance it is from you, it infallibly shows it, as they

say, to a quarter of a mile, by the knocking of a leaden plummet, fastened by a string against the wood of the instrument; with many others.

The gardens on the left hand are inclosed from the rest, where grow all sorts of flowers according to the season.

At the two ends are two grottos or aqueducts, the water springing out at several pipes at once.

On another side is a mount, from whence, within the compass of this large garden, appear hills, valleys, walks, open and covered, fountains, water-works casting up streams into the air in several shapes, groves, maizes, wildernesses, hedges of myrtle and cypress, lemon and orange trees, and all sorts of greens.

From the duke's palace is a secret passage or gallery, of half a mile long, which brings you to Palazzo Vecchio, or the Old Palace, so called because therein all the consultations and assemblies were made whilst Florence continued a commonwealth. There we saw many spacious rooms, in one of which is kept the duke's plate, contained in twelve large cupboards; there is one service of massy gold; a saddle given by the Emperor to the Great Duke, all embroidered with pearls and diamonds; rich Turkish saddles, the stirrups of massy gold; Turkish knives of great value (for their bravery in Turkey consists much in a pair of rich knives). In another room was the altar in making; which, when finished, is intended for Saint Lawrence's chapel; it is all covered with several coloured stones of great value, inlaid with plates of gold as broad as a man's finger, with fair crystal pillars. In the middle is represented Christ and the twelve apostles at the passover. It is not finished by much, and the charge of what is done is said to amount to three millions, if you believe them.

This palace adjoins to the duke's gallery, so famous for the collection of all rarities that either his or his *predecessors'* interest or treasure could procure; it is

supported on great pillars of stone; underneath are the courts of justice.

In the gallery hang the pictures of the most famous princes, both of Europe and other parts of the world; there are many old Roman statues, and one of Cupid, in touchstone.

In the first room joining to the gallery is a table of paragona, or touchstone, inlaid with precious stones of all colours, representing divers sorts of flies, birds, and flowers, to the life, valued at five thousand crowns: an amber candlestick with large branches of coral, as it grows naturally; a cupboard of divers things turned in ivory, by the most knowing of that art in Germany; a fine landscape, in needlework; with divers other pictures and landscapes, and little statues, carved in a black sort of stone, and of hideous shape, which were heathenish idols.

The second room, as the former, hung with landscapes, and other pictures of value, affords you a sight of two pillars on each side the door, of oriental transparent marble; a table, in which is the draught of the town of Leghorn, in precious stones, ships and galleys in the haven, which cost twelve thousand crowns; an ebony cabinet beset with jewels.

In the third are a couple of globes, of a greater circumference than an ordinary mill-stone; the statues of the twelve Cæsars, in a fine carved wooden frame.

The fourth, besides many little statues and pictures, different from those of the former rooms, has a table made by the present Duke, of touchstone, set with rubies, emeralds, pearls, and some diamonds, joined together to represent flowers and birds, in their natural colours; it is esteemed worth one hundred thousand crowns; most incomparable statues of men and other creatures, in brass, with an artificial rock of mother of pearl; a man's head, cut out in a Turkey stone; a nail, half of it converted out of iron into gold by the

philosopher's stone; a cabinet of ebony, covered with agates, emeralds, and amethysts, within it the passion of our Saviour, and the twelve apostles, is excellently figured in yellow and white amber; it cost two hundred thousand crowns; two cupboards of all sorts of glasses and agate cups, inlaid with gold; in fine, the whole room is valued at two millions of crowns.

In the fifth room is the armoury of the Great Duke, where are all descriptions of arms for men and horse, richly gilt, as well those in use amongst us as other nations, both now and in former ages. There you see Turkish darts, targets, rich scymetars and knives, with all their warlike equipage for themselves and horses; Hannibal's headpiece, weighing but seven pounds, and yet musket-proof; 'tis made of Corinthian brass; Charlemagne's sword; the King of China's vest; a scarlet gown of parrot's feathers, worn by the women of quality in India; two sceptres of agate; Turkish and Persian swords, with pistols in the hilts; an Italian lock; the skin of a horse, presented to the Great Duke by the Duke of Loraine; his mane is there yet to be seen, of three ells and a half long; a loadstone, which takes up sixty pounds of iron, and a long fowling-piece, curiously carved, the barrel of gold.

As Italy has produced more knowing men in the arts of architecture, carving in stone and wood, and limning, than other nations; so there is no city hath so much abounded with them as Florence, where artists, to gratify their foundress, have each of them beautified her with some extraordinary piece or other, whence she is called Fiorenza Bella, or Beautiful Florence.

This appears both in her palaces and churches, principally in that of Santa Maria, *di fiore*, the cathedral, a vast church, the outside all of marble, the cupulo or lanthorn, with the steeple, of the same.

In this church lie buried several bishops of Florence, under but indifferent tombs. Among others is that of

an Englishman, and who was one of the Florentine generals, at the taking of Pisa, where he behaved himself so well, that dying, he was interred here, and had a tomb erected to his memory at the public charge; his name was Johannes Acutus. His arms in the church window are, *Or, in a cheveron sable, three escalop shells of the same of the field.*

Near to this church is the public font, out of which no children of this city are allowed to be baptized. It is built round like a temple; as indeed it was, in the time of paganism, dedicated to Mars. It has three doors of brass, whereupon are carved or cast several stories of the Bible. The font stands in the midst, inlaid round with several coloured stones of great value; near to it lies buried Balthasar Cessa, a quondam pope, till displaced by the Council of Constance; over him this epitaph—*Hîc jacet Balthasar Cessa, olim Johan. Vigesimus-tertius.*

The second church of note is that of Maria Santa Novella, and is nothing inferior in structure to the other, which Michael Angelo, the best modern sculptor, used, for its beauty, to call his Venus. Here lies buried a patriarch of Constantinople.

To this church belongs a fraternity of preaching friers, who boast that from amongst them have been chosen two cardinals, forty-eight bishops, of which six have been sainted.

The third is that of Santa Croche, where is one of the richest pulpits of Europe, set with several precious stones. The tombs of the most considerable persons here buried are those of Leonardo Aratino, and of Michael Angelo Bonarota, over which stand three incomparable statues of his own, representing his great knowledge in the three arts of architecture, painting, and carving. The making of an organ in this church, besides the materials, cost four thousand crowns.

The fourth is that of our Lady, or L'Annunciatio,

the church of greatest devotion in the whole town, by reason of the great cures this Lady is believed to do to her devotees.

Upon shelves, almost round the church, stand little statues, some carved in wood, others of leather stuffed with straw, left as memorials by such as have received health or limbs by their application to this shrine; though superstition hath procured better ornaments to the church, such as very rich chalices, candlesticks, lamps, and crucifixes, legs and arms in gold and silver, and such other offerings for imagined cures by this Lady's intercession. The high altar is of massy silver, given by a rich Jew lately turned Christian. The Great Duke being his godfather, gave him his own name and coat of arms.

As you go out of the south door, stands a statue of Ferdinand the First, on horseback, cast in cannon metal.

But before I leave this church I cannot but take notice of an epitaph over the tomb of Politianus, to show how extraordinary it is for this nation to study more languages than their own, which may questionless be no small cause of their blindness as to matters of religion; languages being often the key of knowledge.

> Politianus in hoc tumulo jacet, Angelus, unum
> Qui caput, et linguas (res nova) tres habuit.
>
> *In English:*
>
> Politian (a wonder) here doth lie,
> Whose but one head three tongues did beautify.

The fifth is dedicated to St. Lawrence, and built by Duke Cosmo di Medici, where he lies buried: under his tomb is subscribed — *Decreto publico patri patriæ.*

During my stay at Florence died the Emperor Ferdinand the Third, whose obsequies the Great Duke, as allied to the house of Austria, caused to be

solemnized in this church; the manner whereof I have thought fit here to insert.

The whole church was hung round with black cloth, on which was pictured death, in various forms, intermixed with the imperial arms and crown. In the body of the choir, before the high altar, was erected a lofty arch, lighted with two hundred wax torches set round it; on the top of the arch stood the form of a magnificent tomb, to which you mounted by an ascent of twelve steps; before this, the bishop, assisted by the chief of the clergy, sung several masses, said many prayers for the dead, and used the same rites and ceremonies as if the body had effectually been there. The duke, and the cardinal his brother, were here present, heard the sermon or oration, in commendation of the deceased, which is always pronounced by some secular person, and a gentleman, for the clergymen never perform it. This ceremony continued three hours, set off with the best voices and other music in Italy; amongst which I cannot omit taking notice of a trumpeter, who played an upper part in concert with violins and hautboys, so exactly both as to flats, sharps, and measure, that it was impossible for any instrument to have been more just and harmonious, as he governed it.

Near this church is the chapel of Saint Lawrence, though little, intended for the richest structure in Europe of that kind. 'Tis now fifty years since it was first begun, and yet not half finished, notwithstanding that sometimes an incredible number of persons are said to be at work about it. The inside is all inlaid with stones of several colours, contrived in different forms and figures; the altar, as much of it as is done, after the same manner, only the stones are of greater value, as Turkey stones, sapphires, &c. The windows are not to be glazed, but to receive the light through transparent stones.

This chapel is intended for the burying-place of the Great Dukes, whose tombs and statues are many of them already erected.

In fine, the number of parish churches in this city are forty-four, of nunneries fifty-four, of frieries twenty-four, and of hospitals thirty and odd.

Amongst other pleasant gardens within the walls of this city, next to the Great Duke's, already mentioned, is that of the Cardinal di Medici, the Great Duke's brother: the form of it is rather long than square, graced with several rare greens, and water-works, after the manner of Italy. On one side is a close walk, with greens; wherein, while you think to walk securely, by the turning of a key you are assailed by a shower of rain rising out of the ground all the length of the walk. At the end of this walk is a grotto, from whose sides, enamelled with stones of all colours and shells of fish, springs forth water in several places, as also from the top and bottom. In the midst of this garden is a house of pleasure, and truly so; the cardinal here usually giving rendezvous to his mistresses. The upper rooms are furnished with fine pictures, the lower with statues and water-works. Near to the house stands the statue of a giant, of great esteem, being twenty feet high; his posture is holding a pitcher above his head with both arms, catching the water that falls out of it with his mouth.

Walking out of the town one afternoon through Porta Romana, near the suburbs, we entered into a long walk, almost a mile, planted on both sides with cypress, and the ever-green oak, or ilex tree, but with a sharp and longer leaf than that which grows in England. At the end is a palace where the present duchess usually retires herself for some part of the summer, called Poggia Imperiale, because built by this duke's mother, the emperor's sister; it is richly furnished, *especially* with pictures and statues, purchased from

Rome by the foundress. In the garden are the tallest orange and lemon trees that I saw in Italy, a large fountain, and a grotto.

Ten miles from Florence the duke hath another country-house, called Poggio-Achaiano, which another gentleman and myself took the opportunity of seeing while his highness was there. The house is nothing so considerable in itself, as in its situation, standing betwixt several hills on one side, covered with vines and olive trees, and a valley divided into many walks by rows of trees, leading different ways; one leads to a park where the Great Duke had made a paddock-course, by the direction of signior Bernard Gascoigne, an Italian, who having served our late king in his wars, carried the pattern from England.

There we found the duke diverting himself in the morning, who, after his return to dinner, according to his usual civility to strangers, sent us two dishes of fish (being Friday) and twelve bottles of excellent wines, to our inn.

Near to this house is another park, the largest in Italy, or rather a chace, said to be thirty miles in compass.

Near a mile from Florence, out of the gate of San Gallo, are seen the ruins of the ancient city Fiesole, where, in the time of the Romans, resided the augurs and auspices, or soothsayers, who told good or bad fortune to follow from the flying or chattering of birds. Such silly things does superstition find out to feed on. According to Ovid—

> Hoc mihi, non orium fibræ tonitrusve sinistri,
> Linguave servatæ pennare dixit avis.

This city was once so powerful that it afforded a considerable assistance to Stilicone, a general of the Romans, in the overthrow which he gave the Goths

and Vandals, when there died of them near an hundred thousand.

Four miles distant from hence stands Pratolina, another of the duke's summer houses, surrounded with woods, ponds, fountains and gardens, where the water-works are not inferior to any in Italy, of which, amongst other devices, there is a long walk, from whose borders, on each side, spring forth showers of water, which rising a great height, throws itself on the contrary side, and so covers the walk with water, as with an arch, none falling into the alley, where you walk under the watery element without being wet.

In the wall of the grotto in this garden is the head of a man cut in wood, and painted, which opens his mouth to spirt out water, and then shuts again very naturally.

In another grotto stands the form of a shepherd, in wood, holding a pair of bagpipes, where, upon the approach of a shepherdess of the same stuff, out of the opposite corner, by the secret operation of the water, he plays several notes, the little birds whistling at the same time, by the same aqueduct.

In another sits a satyr, holding a pipe of seven reeds, which he, rising from his seat, and turning his head at the singing of an artificial cuckoo in the wall, plays on, both in appearance and sound.

On the other side of the same grotto is the form of a dragon, and of a man near him, taking up water in a dish, his rising arm meeting the stooping head of the dragon to drink, by one and the same motion of the water, which he drinks up, and presently vomits up again.

Here are several other fountains or grottos, which I shall only name, as that of the Laundry, where a woman statue, by the turning of a cock, beats a buck with a battledore, and turns clothes with the left hand—that called La Mascara, where a woman in a mask moves to

and fro—that of Copito, where are marble chairs, on which, whilst you design to repose yourself, an easy pressing upon the seat pulls down a gallon of water upon you, which, running away to shun, the pavement you tread on spouts up more in your face.

These and several others there are, which verifies the proverb, that the water of Italy is more costly than wine.

In the upper part of this garden stands the statue of a giant, forty-five ells in height; about him are several nymphs, carved in stone, casting out water.

Having spent a whole day in viewing these and other curiosities, at and near Pratolina, we returned my companion and self to Florence the day before the vigil of St. John, the titular saint of this city, whose festival being observed with more than ordinary solemnity, I thought it not impertinent to describe in this place. Four days before the feast, are made four several processions to four of the greatest churches of the city, where the greatest part of the day is spent in devotion, with extraordinary music. On the eve or vigil, in a large place before the church of Santa Maria Novella, towards four in the afternoon, is performed a race of chariots, which the duke and court, with the greatest part of the city, come to see; the manner is this:—about forty yards distant are erected two posts, from one of which five or six chariots, according to the number of those that run, start at sound of trumpet, and being to run thrice round to win, he therefore that has driven his course, and first comes to the post whence he started, gains the prize, valued at thirty crowns; (an easy price for a man's life) the entangling of the chariots one with another, either to gain ground, or at the turn, frequently overturning them, where, if the driver escape a mischief by the fall, he seldom doth being driven over by the following chariots. This seems derived from the *ludus Circensis*, performed much after the same manner.

also those *certamina Olympica*, amongst the Greeks, where the runners with chariots were hemmed in, with the bank of a river on one side, and swords pitched point upwards on the other; only they were to run directly, and these circularly.

The next day being St. John's day, but what St. John I know not, the duke, duchess, and prince went to a large place before the palace or hall, attended with a great train of coaches, where, seating himself in a chair of state, upon a stage raised on purpose for this ceremony, he received homage and fealty from such as hold countries, forts, or castles of him, within his dominions, as also other sorts of tenures, which was performed by their passing severally before him on horseback, vailing a banner they carried, being summoned, *viratim*, by the herald.

In the afternoon the duke, prince, and nobility, having heard vespers at St. Peter's church, go in cavalcade to see a horse-race, usually run for a prize, a rich banner or mallio, worth five hundred crowns, on this day; where, the truth is, the beauty of the horses, the number of the persons attending the duke, the rich furniture, both for themselves and horses, make it extraordinary.

The course is performed by barbs, through a long street, near a mile in length, which run without any one upon them, only little iron balls, full of pricks, which, fastened to their backs by a girth, fall down on each side by strings; these, by their motion rising and falling, do the office of spurs.

The government of Tuscany, as I said, is monarchical, and more absolutely so than any other principality in Italy, the prince laying what taxes he pleases upon the people, and having always a good competent standing force to keep them in subjection; of this his guards commonly quarter in the city, which mostly consist of High Dutch and Switzers; the rest, which are four regiments, lye quartered upon the frontiers of his

dominions, which are divided into four parts, for each division a regiment, under the command of a maistro di campo, or colonel.

Amongst other impositions, one is laid as a custom upon all new commodities brought into Florence, whether by strangers or subjects, even clothes themselves, if they have not been worn, which occasioned a sad dispute betwixt a poor countryman and the officers of the customs, in my sight, about a shirt found upon search in his clothes-bag, which he contesting to have been worn, and they that it had not, occasioned some blows to the owner.

Such taxes, with the traffic the Great Duke drives, for he does not think it below him to play the merchant, and his great frugality withal, makes him, and not without reason, esteemed the richest prince in Italy; of which last it is evidence sufficient, I mean of his frugality, that he boards with his cook, that is, he agrees with him by the week, to provide for him daily so many dishes of meat for his own table, most of his servants being put out to board wages.

July the 15th, I left Florence, to see such remarkable places near it as were uninfected; and first, I went for Lucca, but in my way passed by Pistoya, formerly the chief city of Etruria, seated in a most fruitful valley, called the Valley of Arno, cultivated after the manner of Italy, both for corn and wine, the ridges of the lands producing corn, and the furrows elms, on which grow the vines.

This was subjected by the Florentines long since, near the year 1150. The town is little, but esteemed rich; the streets are paved with broad freestone; the cathedral, a handsome church, paved with marble; it stands twenty miles distant from Florence.

Twenty miles from Pistoya we came to Lucca, situated in the same valley, built, as some write, forty years after Rome. It is, questionless, very antient, as

appears by C. Sempronius retiring himself thither, with the residue of the Roman army, as a place of safety, having been routed by Hannibal at the battle of Trebia.

The town is three miles in compass, well fortified, having eleven large bastions after the form and proportion of balvardi reali, or real bulwarks; the terra pieno faced with stone, and so large, that several rows of trees grow upon it, and where the company in carriages go out to take the air in the evening.

Near to the church of the Augustines they showed us the ruins of an old temple, dedicated to Saturn, and the remnant of a large amphitheatre.

The chief church, or cathedral, is dedicated to Saint Martin, where the bishops and canons have a particular grant from Rome for wearing the habit of archbishops.

The streets are narrow, paved with large freestone; the houses of the gentry built of freestone, but low roofed.

All the inns are in one street, that the demeanor of strangers may be better inspected, they living, in this state, in a continual jealousy of the practices of the Duke of Tuscany upon them, insomuch, that none is permitted to wear a weapon within the walls, not so much as a knife, if pointed.

This city was made the metropolis of Tuscany, one of the twelve parts into which Italy, when conquered by the Lombards, was divided, where Desiderius, Duke of Tuscany, resided, when chosen King of the Lombards, in the year 776, or thereabouts. It first bought its liberty at the price of twenty-five thousand crowns, which was afterwards confirmed to it by the Emperor Radolphus, anno 1288, and has since continued.

They show you here a statue of our Saviour, which they hold in great veneration, which, in Charlemagne's time, they tell you was made, all but the head, by one Nicodemus, which he being in great perplexity how to

form, by miracle, while he turned his back, a head with the exact lineaments of the face of our Saviour from heaven, was clapped upon the shoulders.

From Lucca we went to Pisa, ten miles off, three miles short of Pisa passing a mountain called after that name, which divides the territories of these two cities. This mountain is covered with a sweet carpet of rosemary, thyme, and other sweet herbs, which grow wild.

Pisa, divided by the river Arno from east to west, and built before Rome by the Grecians, was once very powerful at sea as well as on land, as appears by its conquering the island of Sardinia, killing the King of Majorca, lending forty galleys to Almerico, King of Jerusalem, in his wars with the Saracens of Alexandria; in fine, it was so potent that it was esteemed one of the four cities of Italy. Now it is much altered since conquered by the dukes of Tuscany, and almost depopulated, the greatest part of the free-born natives seeking new habitations in other countries, preferring a foreign servitude to a domestic one, notwithstanding the Great Duke, to invite a resort to it, hath made it an university, for the study of all sciences, maintaining several professors and readers in the same, for the instruction of youth, at his own charge.

There was first instituted the religious order of the knights of Saint Stephen, by Cosmo, Duke of Florence, in the year 1561. The statutes thereto belonging are much like those of the Order of Malta, except that these are allowed to marry; they wear a red cross, bordered with gold. The founder built here also a palace, and endowed it with lands, for the reception and maintenance of such of this order as fell into necessity, with a church belonging to it, hung round with the banners taken by these knights from the Turks. The Great Duke is the first of this order.

This city was built in a large plain, four miles dis-

tant from the sea, though it is now eight, so much, it is credibly reported, the land has here gained upon the sea within sixteen hundred years, for there is a church standing to this day, four miles from Pisa, built over a great post, with an iron hoop, to which they report St. Peter tied his boat at his first landing in Italy.

There are four things very remarkable in this town:

First—The church of St. John, inferior to none in Italy for the great proportion of exquisitely carved marble belonging to it, and the font.

Secondly—The domo, or cathedral, for the fine statues and work about it, but especially the six doors, two of them iron, and four brass, of a vast size, upon which are carved several stories of the Bible, as exactly as if they were drawn by the pencil, though some say they are cast.

Thirdly—The steeple thereto belonging, built crooked, or bending to one side from the very foundation, so that the top overhangs the foundation three ells, and yet is as strong and permanent as if never so straight, by the artificial contrivance of the architect.

Fourthly—The holy church-yard, surrounded by a great wall and porches, whose earth consumes the buried body in twenty-four hours; the first eight hours it swells, the next eight it falls, and the last eight it totally wastes, not only as they credibly told us there, but as authors writing of this place relate, for, says one of credit—*Cœmiterium Pisæ invenitur cinctum undique porticibus murisque pulcherrimis, cujus terræ natura est ut, inter* XXIV *horas, consumat sepultum cadaver.*

This yard, they tell you, was made of earth, brought in fifty gallies instead of ballast, from the holy land, by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, on his return from the holy war.

Three miles from Pisa I passed the brook Serpe, and twelve more brought me to Leghorn, so called, as some *say, from* Ligornus, son of Phæton.

This city, formerly subject to the Pisans, came into subjection to the Dukes of Florence, with their last conquest of Pisa, in the year 1509, at that time very despicable, by reason of the miseries themselves of this city had suffered with the Pisans, their masters, in their wars, both with the Genoese and Florentines, till Francis and Ferdinand, Dukes of Florence, rebuilt the walls and fortifications thereof, and to populate it the more, made it a sanctuary to offenders of some kinds, provided they built houses and lived there continually. It is seated in a plain near the sea on the north side, where the river Arno, running through the town, disburdens itself: it has a very fine haven for ships of bulk, and another for gallies and less boats, on the side of which stand two towers, out of which lights are hung in the night time for the direction of sailors; on the north side is a strong fort.

This town, thus situate, affords great commodity for trade, which makes it much frequented by merchants from all parts, Armenians, Turks, Jews, Sclavonians, &c.; in fine, by persons of all habits and countries in a manner, and the rather so, that none are here molested for their opinion.

Here the duke keeps his slaves that row in his gallies; they go almost quite naked, save that they have something to cover their privities; they live mostly on bread and water, and are never allowed to come abroad or on shore, except they be chained together.

In the middle of this city stands a statue of Cosmus, Duke of Florence, in marble, with four slaves, in brass, in four several postures, in the full proportion of men, under him: it is esteemed the best of the kind in Europe.

Having staid here two days, and received many civilities from some merchants of our own country, we returned for Florence through some part of the beforementioned chace or *forest*, stored with several sorts of

wild beasts, as red deer, wolves, boufles, porcupines, fallow deer, wild boars, and others, and preserved with that care, that it is a galley business to shoot or chase there without a licence from the duke.

I arrived at Florence July the 26th, where, understanding that the infection spread itself, rather than decreased, both at Rome and Genoa, in which last place the account of the dead the foregoing week was to the number of about thirty thousand; I thought it the safest way to leave Italy, and to employ the remaining part of my time (designed for my stay there) in visiting some parts of Germany, especially as I was desirous to see the election of the new emperor, for which intent the diet was speedily to assemble at Francfort.

I left Florence July the 29th, 1667, and arrived at Bologna in two days, going without any company that I knew, save one English boy that was my servant. From thence I took boat for Ferrara, and five miles further reached the famous river Po, whose swift current carried us to an antient sea-port, called Chiosa, where it empties itself into the Adriatic Sea.

This Chiosa is now a city and a bishopric, the see of Malamocco being transferred hither by a Duke of Venice, at the time that Malamocco was ruined by an eruption, and an overflowing of the sea upon it.

From Chiosa we embarked for Venice, passing by the ruins of the said city, some ten miles from Chiosa, which we had scarcely passed, when a violent tempest of rain, thunder, and lightning surprised us, seconded with the winds rising and changing in our faces, that we could neither go forward nor cast anchor, so that we were driven back, as with a whirlwind, to the mouth of the river Po, where, not without great danger, we were forced to lie out at sea for thirty-six hours, till it pleased God to assuage the sea, and change the wind into a right quarter, which wafted us to Venice in four *hours. There* I staid two days to find company, which

I fortunately met with, two French and four German gentlemen, intending to go the same way for Francfort.

The first day, being the sixth of August, we took two gondolas, and rowed to Mestra, upon the gulph, seven miles from Venice. The next day, having agreed with a guide to furnish us with horses, we dined at Capello Franco, eighteen miles from Mestra, having passed Conegliano, a great town half built on the top of a hill, the rest in a plain, the first considerable place obtained by the Venetians in Terra Firma: here we were forced to stay till four in the afternoon for shelter, from the greatest storm I ever saw of thunder and lightning, but especially of hail, the stones that fell being larger than ordinary walnuts.

That night we lay at Bassana, upon the river Brenta, standing at the foot of the Alps; the next day we passed by a strong fort belonging to the Dutch, seated on so steep and high a rock, that both men and provisions are drawn up to it by a pulley. We dined at Primo Lano, sixteen miles distant from Bressana, within the state of Venice, near to which is a strong fort under the same jurisdiction, which parts that and Tyrol, the country of the Archduke of Austria; and here, though I know many have written very large descriptions both of Italy and its inhabitants, I think it may not be improper to give this short account of my own observations concerning them, as to some particulars.

Not to trouble the reader with long relations, either as to its situation, fertility, &c. I shall only say, that I found the winter as violently cold as the summer was hot; I saw most of the canals of Venice frozen over, which continued eight days; but of winter there is seldom above three months, *scilicet*, December, January, and February. The heat is so scorching from June till after the dog days, that the time of walking out and taking the air is in evenings, and most part of the

night. The time for sleeping is in the day, in the lowest rooms of the houses, which are the more cool, by having no other decoration than the bare stone walls, and sometimes grates in the paved floors, whereby fresh wafts are breathed from the cellars and caves below.

In summer the meanest person seldom drinks his wine without having it cooled either with ice or snow, which is preserved in places made for that purpose under ground, and sold publicly in the markets.

Thunder and lightning are here both terrible and frequent, to the great prejudice both of man and beast very often.

The country is very fertile, abounding with all sorts of grain, fruits, wines, and much oil, which they generally use instead of butter, except in Lombardy and in the valley of Pisa. There are few cattle, except in Lombardy; horses they have in most places for loads and riding on; but most of their drudgery is done by mules or asses, especially for carriage.

In some parts of Italy the same acre produces olive and almond trees, set upon the ridges of lands, corn sown underneath, and vines, which climb up small stakes in the furrows; some land will bring two crops of grain in one year. Here is a great store of orange trees, some lemons, and citrons.

The diet of this country is mostly roots, fruits, and salads, but very little flesh, though beef, mutton, veal, &c. is to be sold in the markets by weight, and in small proportions; foul and pullet are seldom purchased but by people of quality; the meaner sort generally feed on herbs, pulse, snails, frogs, eggs, and sometimes on goats' flesh. Sea-fish is scarce, except at Venice, as also shell-fish in all other places, though they have oysters and cockles, but not so good as ours. River-fish is more plentiful, which they always fry with oil.

They have excellent pure wheat-bread, of which they *often make a* meal, sliced and sopped in wine. Their

wines are most delicious, especially those of Tuscany, Montefiascone, Laverdia, and a deep red wine which they usually drink at meals, la Lagrima di Christo, or the tears of Christ; la vernaza, and the white muscadine, cocubum and Falernum, from the kingdom of Naples, with many others, are all delicate rich wines; and yet in the Venetian state they drink a great deal of a Grecian sort of wine called Malvoisia.

The Italians abhor drunkenness, it being left to every one to pledge him that drinks to him in what quantity he pleases, using the common phrase of—*Faccio ragione, a vos Signioria*, "I do you reason," and *Brindisi a vos Signioria*, "I bring it to you," when they drink to one.

Their inns are very extortious, nor can the hosts remedy it, great impositions being laid upon them. The best way is to agree for the meat before-hand, or to dine, *al paste*, by the ordinary. There you lie not upon feather beds, but quilts altogether, two, and sometimes three, one upon another: though (travelling in summer), I rather chose to lie on forms or tables, not only for fear of the itch (a common disease in Italy, and easily got in the inns, where it is extraordinary to get clean sheets), but also to secure myself from the troublesome and venomous biting of the cimisi, a sort of little creatures like a sheep-louse, which swarm in the bedsteads if they be any thing rotten, and the quilts themselves, where they are not carefully cleaned, from whence they assail you as soon as you are warm in bed, leaving red lumps, and a violent lasting itching behind them.

In towns, every body, especially in the Venetian state, go to market and buy their own victuals, which you contract with your landlady to dress for you: the Italians are but bad cooks.

They look upon it as no disparagement, from the genteelest to the *meanest* persons to traffic in this

country, gentlemen of Florence and Lucca keeping open shops, and selling by retail. Silk is there a general commodity, which they first make by breeding of the worms, which when they have wound their web, they smother them in an oven, then wetting the webs in warm water, draw them out with wheels made for that purpose, into small threads, making them, last of all, into all sorts of silk stuffs, such as velvets, satins, tabbies, &c.

The Italians seldom converse with strangers, or with one another, but in public places, as walks, markets, churches, &c. seldom eating or lodging at one another's houses, which they call places of retirement, where men ought to have no interruption in sleeping soundly and eating heartily.

They are people that make the greatest show of friendship in their courteous outward demeanour, and have certainly the least, being very poor, self-interested, and treacherous, leaving nothing unattempted, though ever so mean, to gain a woman they love, or to destroy a man that they hate. That of Pastor Fido is a great maxim amongst them:

Il cieco scoglio—'l quel chinganna i marinari ancora piu saggi;
chi non sa finger l'amico non e fiero inamico.

The rock that underneath doth lie,
Cheats seamen, be they ne'er so sly;
He, in revenge, best gets his end,
That though a foe, appears a friend.

They never forgive injuries, which if they cannot revenge themselves, they entail them upon their posterities. Their manner of revenge is base and cowardly, usually taken upon advantage by their bravos, a sort of desperate criminals, entertained by gentlemen having *feuds, that* protect them from the law, and so have

them at their devotion, to practise whatever they enjoin them upon their adversaries. I was told by a gentleman, of the family of the Odes, in Padua, who had a difference with another gentleman there, that he had not for nine years stirred out of his house, or scarce looked out of his window, for fear of being shot, for he knew ambush had often been laid by his adversary to take away his life. A gentleman of the same place, who, by the persuasion of his uncle had been reconciled to a too potent enemy of his family, which quarrel had occasioned his father's death, was frequently importuned by his mother to continue the feud, telling him it was unworthy of his extraction to forgive an injury, and often showing him the bloody shirt worn by his dead father when killed, the more to incite to enmity.

These factions amongst private families, though frequent throughout Italy, are most so within the state of Venice, where it is believed a piece of policy in the government not to endeavour their suppression, as the gentry are less at leisure to pry into state affairs, when embroiled in disputes with one another, or to unite themselves to the prejudice of the commonwealth. Jealousy, amongst other causes, is not the least of these quarrels, not only of their wives, but their mistresses, whom to court they think as great an injury as the first—a mistress's inconstancy giving a man there the title of *becco*, or cucold, as well as a wife's.

During my stay at Venice, a nobleman fell in love with a rich merchant's wench of the same place, and gained her from him, much contrary to the inclinations both of the courtezan and her lover, who were, however, forced to submit, neither being able, nor daring to contend with the nobles; but the woman growing melancholy upon the change, the gentleman grew jealous of some secret commerce betwixt the merchant

and his old mistress, and therefore charged him not to stir out of his house, as he valued his life, which he was forced to do. The gentleman, finding little change in his mistress by this proceeding, began to think her so constant to her first amour, that nothing could alter its effect but the removing the cause out of the world, which he attempted doing by six bravos, who attacked him with their stilettos, as he was in his shop or warehouse, and wounded him in several places, but not mortally, being rescued by some that passed by accidentally. The cause hereof being known, the nobleman was taken and imprisoned for the present, but soon after released through the intercession of friends.

I was told by a marquis and senator of Bologna, who lived at Florence, being banished his own country (though he had permission of having his estate restored to him in any other part of Italy), that he had been the cause of the death of six men in one quarrel, betwixt one that had married his wife's sister and himself, both in love with another man's wife. Five of them were killed in a rencounter in the street, between these two rivals, under their mistress's window, attended by ten or twelve bravos a-piece; whereupon the brother fled into Germany, and the marquis to Florence. The gentlewoman (who ignorantly occasioned this) was killed by her husband; and the marquis said it had cost him fifteen thousand crowns, to endeavour to kill his adversary, since he fled, ineffectually.

The women in Italy live under great restraint, never being allowed to stir out of their houses (if of quality and young) except to their devotions, which occasions a great profanation of churches, lovers, for want of opportunity elsewhere, there declaring their passions by their gestures, eyes, and little tickets, which they closely convey, as they pass, into the laps of their misses.

The least unhappy of that sex there are the courte-

zans, who are better maintained and provided for, as to lodgings, cloaths, diet, and all other accommodations, than the wives, often, besides, heaping up great stores of wealth upon the ruins of their lovers, whom they usually discard with their poverty, and so fly with the bee to a fresh flower, till, the winter of their age once come, they subsist on what they laid up when they were young, with some little advantages by playing the bawds, in which quality (if not well paid) they are much reverenced.

One thing is not to be omitted the mention of, which is, certain houses well endowed, for the maintenance of bastard or disowned children, which being laid at the doors or turns of these convents, are taken in, and maintained till they be capable of trades, without inquiry or who or what they are, and then put apprentices. Though these seem to encourage licentiousness, I am sure they prevent the barbarous murder of one's own children, too often here committed with violence both to nature and conscience, for want of some such salve for reputation.

And now give me leave to continue my journey, which I left at Primo Lano the fifth of August. The next day we came, about dinner-time, to Trent, situated in a valley upon the river Adige. By the banks of this river we passed for almost thirty miles together, surrounded on each side with two hills so very high, that their tops are ever covered either with clouds or snow.

The town of Trent is little, but compact and well-built. The best churches are two, one dedicated to Santo Petro, the other to Santa Maria, in which was held that so famous council, composed of five cardinals which presided, two other cardinals, legates from Pius the Fourth, then pope, three patriarchs, thirty-two archbishops, two hundred and thirty bishops, seven abbots, seven generals of religious orders, one hundred

and forty-six friers, regular and secular, and the ambassadors of all the christian princes. In this church is a very large painted window, where the council, with the manner and order of the session, is exactly drawn; and an organ of great value. Near this church stands the archbishop's palace, lately repaired by Bernardo Clesio, archbishop of that see.

In summer the air is very temperate in this place, but reported so immoderately cold in winter, that it is extraordinary to see rain, all the moisture that falls being converted either into hail or snow; and what is miraculous, little or no water is to be found in the wells, the springs being dried up in the veins of the earth through excess of cold.

The 8th of August we went to a town called La Vijo, four Dutch miles or leagues from Trent (each of them containing at the least four of Italy), though the most usual manner of computing the ways in Germany is by hours, so that you seldom enquire how many leagues to such a place, but how many hours (*scilicet*) of travel.

The next day we lay at Boczen, a fair town, seated betwixt two great hills, upon the river Adige, which almost ever accompanied us from Trent to this place, where it changed its name for Isock; and the country its language, forsaking the Italian, and speaking altogether High Dutch. This town is chiefly remarkable for four annual marts or fairs, where is a great traffic from all the neighbouring countries.

The next day we came to Brixen, a bishop's see, but otherwise little considerable; having in the afternoon passed the hill called Bremmer, very steep and high; and at that time, being August, covered with snow, and woods of pine and fir trees.

The next day brought us to Inspruck, where the climate so much prevailed (although the sun was in Leo), that after we were got out of that long valley, which had brought us from Trent to within three

leagues of Inspruck, we were forced to go on foot to procure heat, and to approve of the custom of the country, of lying betwixt two feather beds, to be as necessary there as twilts in Italy.

We came to Inspruck August the 12th, the principal city of the country of Tyrol, the residence of the prince of that country, the Archduke of Inspruck, the third branch of the house of Austria, descending from Ferdinand, second son of Ferdinand the emperor. This city is seated in a pleasant and fruitful valley, on the river Ænus, or Inn, betwixt two exceeding high mountains covered with snow all the year long.

The most remarkable things here are the archduke's palace, a large stone house, less regular, because very antient, but well furnished, joining to the church of St. Francis, in whose middle alley are the statues of all the former dukes, cast in brass, with those of their wives, in the dresses used in those days; and a stately tomb of Maximilian the first archduke, and after emperor, the first of that name. In the choir of this church it was, where Christiana, Queen of Sweden, not long before changed her religion (passing from Rome) from protestant to papist. Here also are a Jesuits' college and church, and the duke's seraglio of many sorts of wild beasts.

These is a castle at some distance from the town, where, amongst other curiosities, are kept in one room, the harness or warlike habits of several Christian and Turkish princes; amongst others, that worn by Francis the First of France, when he was taken prisoner by Charles the fifth emperor, where remain to this day more marks of his fear than courage, for he spoiled his hose exceedingly.

In the afternoon we continued our journey through a pleasant valley, watered by the river Inn, and abounding with firs and pines, the hills on each side very high and rocky, especially one, upon which stands a crucifix, in

commemoration of Maximilian the first emperor being found there, when he had been lost three days and nights, as he was in chace of certain creatures almost particular to these hills, not unlike goats, but horned like roebucks. They tell you that his good angel came to him in the shape of a man, led him forth of those rocky meanders, and then vanished.

The next day we left Tyrol, and entered into the country of Bavaria, which gives title to the prince thereof, the Duke of Bavaria, one of the electors of the empire.

The 15th, to gain time, we made use of a strange way of passage down the river Iser (though usual in that country), upon poles fastened together; for daily in summer, great quantities of firs, felled some thirty or forty leagues from Munken, are conveyed to neighbouring rivers, especially that of Iser, where, joined with withies or cords, twenty or thirty together, they are carried down by the rapid stream in a short time upon these poles joined as I have said; we had stools set, and so came a day sooner to Munken than our horses, which were sent by land.

Munken is the capital city of Bavaria, and the residence of the elector, large and well built, the streets broad, the houses three and four stories high, of brick, but painted as if it was freestone, and well stored with all sorts of provisions, except wines, which they are supplied with from Austria, as almost all the rest of Bavaria. It is seated in a fair champaign country, upon the river Iser (for here we took leave of the forementioned hills).

We arrived at Munken the 16th of August, the eve of the Assumption of our blessed Lady; when going to view the town, we found the electress dowager, mother to the present elector, and sister to the late emperor, at vespers in the great church, sung by Italian voices to a concert of instruments. The church is large, adorned with many pictures, statues and images, and with the

tombs of such of the dukes as died before the building of the Jesuits' church, where they have since been interred.

The Jesuits' church and college is (not without reason) thought one of the chiefest piles of building of that kind in Europe; the church is large, and yet the walls support the top without the help of one pillar; beautified within with marble pavement, pictures, statues, some tombs of the dukes and duchesses, &c. The college, adjoining to the church, is said to be the largest in Europe (except that of La Flesche, in France), having several quadrangles, and some gardens within the walls of the house. It is three stories in height, every story having galleries round the college, out of which doors open on every side into the several apartments, both of the fathers and scholars. There is a very fair library. This college receives and maintains sixty fathers, besides a great number of under religious and students.

The elector's palace (was it of other materials, as it is of brick coloured like freestone), would certainly be in all respects, especially as to proportion, contrivance, and furniture, the finest I ever saw. There are four square courts, besides some little gardens, encompassed with the several apartments of this great structure. Out of the first and largest court you go into the great hall, at the end of which is a stately staircase, consisting of fifty polished red marble steps, each of them three ells long, and all of one piece, valued at two hundred crowns a-piece, with the statues of such emperors as have any way had relation to this family, amongst others, that of Charles the Great. This leads you into an apartment called the emperor's, of which the first room you come into is a fair dining-room, the roof of it being very high, supported by four stately marble pillars, above seven feet round a-piece; from this you come into a long gallery, which receives light by forty great

windows, twenty on one side, and twenty on the other; betwixt the windows are great variety of landscapes; at the end of this gallery is another hall or dining-room, furnished with many ancient pictures of great value, and so large as to have in it four chimneys, with statues on each side that support the frieze, cornice, and architrave; above, adjoining to this, are six rooms or chambers, all on one floor, all the doors opening so directly over against each other, that you have a perspective, or *bello visto*, from the first to the last. To these adjoin many other chambers and closets, but much less than the other six; these brought us to a second marble staircase, which led us down to the ladies' apartment, containing several chambers; through these we went to a third staircase, and from thence into another large hall, hung round with a great number of ordinary pictures; adjoining to which are two chambers, the walls inlaid with several coloured stones of value. On the other side of these chambers is the hall of Hercules, so called because the largest in the whole house, hung round with the pictures of the eight electors, and the representations of such battles as any of them have personally fought or been concerned in. On the other side of this hall is the elector and the electress's apartments, which we were not allowed to see, the elector and electress being within at that time.

After this we were guided through a great number of low ordinary rooms to the Antiquary, being a long stone gallery, furnished with many rarities and antiquities; amongst others, with a table of polished marble, inlaid with several coloured stones in the form of flowers, butterflies, birds in their natural proportions and colours, five ells in length and two and a half broad. This stands at the entrance. On either side of the gallery are a great company of old Roman statues of the most famous men and women, made (as they tell you), in their life time, nor do their antiquity and excellency promise less.

First, there is the statue of Julius Cæsar, and his wife's; of Lucius Cæsar, father to Julius, and his wife; of Augustus, and Livia his wife; of Tiberius, Vespasianus, Domitianus, with his wife Martia, and other Roman emperors, with several of their nearest relations. There are also some more modern statues of marble (of which are most of the rest), *scilicet*, of Constantine the Great, his mother Helena, and several others, of Michael Angelo's doing, of about that time. At the far end are the statues of Marcus Publius Cato, Mithridates, Pompey, Marcus Antonius, and Cleopatra, three Egyptian Gods, of black marble, of the most prodigious shape that can be imagined, with a great many other antiquities, which the haste we were led with through the gallery would not allow me to take notice of more particularly.

At the end of this Antiquary is a garden, through which you pass into another, having a long walk, with a fountain and grotto at one end, and an arch of stone at the other, the roof and sides within being marble inlaid with divers stones of different colours, in the form of a long street, with stately palaces on each side; indeed, so natural a perspective, that you think you are going out of the walk into some city, till you come very near to the arch.

But what they report the most rare here to be seen, they told us was never shown but to persons of extraordinary quality, or well known, fearing strangers might rob them of some of their rarities, as it has sometimes happened. This is a gallery furnished like a storehouse, with a great many toys and devices, brought from several parts of the world; the glass of the gallery set in silver in lieu of lead, enamelled in many places with emeralds, rubies, turkey stones, and others different in colours, if you will believe them.

All the rooms we saw were paved with marble, the doors and windows generally faced with the same, the

iron-work belonging to the doors and windows, as hinges, snecks, and locks, &c. carved and double gilded, and most of the rooms painted above the cornice on the roofs in landscape or imagery, in fresco.

The out-houses and offices are suitable for their quality to the rest described. In the stables we saw one hundred and eighty horses for the saddle, of several countries, and two camels, besides those for his coaches. Near to the stables are fish-ponds: on the other side is the arsenal, well furnished with all sorts of arms, both offensive and defensive.

It is said, that Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, having taken this town, amongst others, in his conquest of Germany, was advised to burn it with the palace, as belonging to his adversary; to which he answered, that could he convey it entire into Sweden he would; but to ruin so excellent a structure would be *sævire in omnes, non sævire in unum*—would not be an injury to one, but the whole world.

August the 17th, being the Assumption of our Lady, we saw his electoral highness coming from church, in his usual state, himself only in his coach, driven slowly, the nobility and officers of his court going on foot bare-headed before it, and on each side; his guards following behind, which I thought very extravagant, but it seems it is a grandeur those princes affect on solemn days. At night we were admitted to see the elector and his duchess (daughter to the Duke of Savoy) at vespers in the private chapel.

August the 18th, I left Munken with the same company that came with me from Venice, hiring horses of the carrier or messenger, who goes weekly to Augsburgh, eight leagues from Munken, where we arrived the same night.

Augsburgh is an Imperial or free town, having *potestatem vitæ et necis*, within its own jurisdiction, with *many* other privileges and franchises belonging to the

like members of the empire, of which I shall speak hereafter. It stands in a large fruitful valley of corn, part of it to the east and north, being often over-flooded, especially in winter. The streets are broad, the houses high, but for the most part built of wood and mortar, except some certain palaces belonging to the wealthiest citizens, which are some of freestone, others of brick; the wood houses are most painted over, representing men and women, story, battles, &c. The streets are beautified with some statues of brass, excellently cast, and with conduits of water, brought in pipes, as they say, from the fountain, distant five leagues at the least. In this city are ten churches, of which the cathedral belongs to the Romanists, though the greater part of the inhabitants are Lutherans. The clock in this church is a handsome piece of work, on which are three statues, representing the three wise men of the east, which, carried about by an iron hoop, fall down and worship the image of our Saviour as the clock strikes.

In the Jesuits' church there is a silver altar, gilded over, of great price.

The senate-house is a fair large building, wherein are three halls, one over another, of great and equal proportion. The first supports its top by eight stately pillars of polished marble. The second is ceiled about, painted, and gilt, having four chambers that open into it on the sides, called the elector's chambers. The third is like the second, having three chambers, after the manner of the other four, for the use of the other three electors, at such times as diets or other meetings are made here by the princes of the empire. The bishop's revenue of this see is so great, that commonly the sons of the princes of the empire strive for it; at present it is enjoyed by Frederick, Archduke of Austria. Here they show you the place, in a little old palace, where Martin Luther undauntedly made his confession before Charles, the fifth emperor.

The territory appertaining to this city is very little, especially on one side of the town, the Duke of Bavaria's ground encompassing it, which makes them the more cautious of a surprise, keeping five hundred men continually in pay for their defence, and admitting none to enter or go forth of the town after twilight, except through a postern gate which they open at all hours of the night with all security, and after this manner. This passage or postern is a long stone porch, divided into two partitions by a great iron gate in the middle and two at the ends; over this porch is a tower, where the court of guard (without enquiring who or whence you are) at your call, open the first gate by a pulley from above, which continues open for no longer than one person, whether on foot or on horseback, may well enter, and then claps to again with so strong a spring, that it must crush in pieces whosoever attempts entrance after the first, or two at the most, have passed into the first partition: from the first door you are admitted through the second, that opens after the same manner, and last of all through the third, which brings you into the town. But let your company be what it may, none is allowed to follow the first, till he have passed all the three doors, and then they begin to open them again for every single person till all be admitted, never discerning all the while how or by whom they are opened.

We left Augsburgh the 20th of August, hiring horses of the carrier for Francfort, where we arrived in five days and a half. The first place of note we passed through was Dunawert, in Bavaria, formerly an Imperial town, but has since lost its liberty; so named from the great rivers Wert and Danube, which here join in one course. Four leagues further we came to Nordlingen, the inhabitants all Lutherans, joining upon a large champagna, where was fought that great battle betwixt the Germans and Swedes, where *the Duke of* Weimure was general for the Swedes, and

Jo. de Wert for the Germans. Thence we continued our journey through a champaign, but a very ruinous country, especially Suevia and some parts of Franconia, two principal provinces of Germany, having been the seat of the late wars; here we passed through villages and some ruined towns uninhabited, much ground untilled, and those people we met with so boorish and rude, that in manners they seemed little to differ from beasts. Our accommodation was suitable, wanting sometimes beds, but always sheets; our meat, milk, butter, and cheese, and sometimes pullet, which, for want of spits the custom of the country is to roast with strings; water is the common drink, mixed with milk. In some places they sell a sort of sour wine, but at great rates, where it is customary for the peasants to spend in two hours what they earn in a week, and to drink water the working days, to have the pleasure of being drunk on Sunday.

When we came near Francfort, we went with a convoy, which the princes adjoining to that city allow to passengers whilst the diet continues, for their security, robberies then being very frequent.

We arrived at Francfort August the 26th; seated on the river Mœne, at the end of a great wood of oaks and beeches; on the other side is a fruitful plain along the banks of the river, planted with vines, large meadows and groves, standing in the province of Isesten. It is an Imperial town, having more than ordinary privileges, being the place appointed by Charles, the fourth emperor, in his *Bulla Aurea*, for the place of meeting of the electors, and other princes of the empire, for the election of the emperor, and of parliaments or diets for the dispatching of other affairs, having also the greatest fair twice a year, in all Germany. This city is divided from east to west by the said river into two parts, the bigger and the less, called ordinarily Sachsenhausse, or the Saxon's house, joined by a bridge of stone, and

governed by the same laws and justice. It is called Francfort from *furt*, a ford, and *Franc*, signifying French, *quasi* French-ford; for, says Atlas:—*Fertur Carolus magnus, Francorum Rex, cùm Saxonas bello urgeret, sæpiùs rebelles, et Mœni fluminis alveo præsidentes (quòd nullus adhuc pons ripas jungeret) subitò occultis vadis Francos traduxisse, et Saxonas in adversam ripam non opinantèr devicisse; inque ejus rei memoriam, loco nomen et prærogativas quasdam dedisse.*

The Imperial Chamber was first here instituted, the highest court of judicature, and of last appeal in the empire, since translated to Spire.

The town-hall is a great irregular building, where the emperors, when chosen, first dine; before it a great place; in the midst of it a handsome fountain, which runs wine at the day of the coronation, and some other solemnities.

In the less city is a house formerly belonging to the Knights of the Teutonic Order, and a sanctuary; which privilege it continues to this day, where bankrupts and manslayers are allowed refuge for fourteen days. In this city the Jews have a street to themselves, and a synagogue, but wear a distinction upon their hats to be known by, as they do also in those towns of Italy where they are tolerated. They perform their devotions with the least reverence imaginable, sitting upon their tails, their heads covered, whilst the law is read to them by the priest, as also whilst they sing the psalms of David, which all perform together with untunable humming tones. The women are separated from the men by a partition, that they see not one another.

The best church is dedicated to St. Bartholomew, where the emperor is of late chosen by the suffrages of the electors; but formerly they were neither chosen in the church nor town, but in a large field adjoining thereto; *ubi*, (says my author), *si discordantibus suffragiis, duo fortassis electi fuerant, mos erat civibus*

Francofordiæ nullum admittere usquedum adversarius manum cum altero conseruisset aut divisioni viam invenisset, ita ut unus fortiter regnaret, alter inglorius et timidus abiret.

This happened betwixt Lewis of Bavaria (usually called Ludovicus Quartus) and Frederick of Austria, both chosen at Francfort. The first had the electors of Mentz, Treves, the King of Bohemia, and of Brandenburgh on his side; the other the Elector of Cologne, the Prince Palatine and of Saxony, on his. Both of them kept out of the town, till, in the year 1335, after several conflicts, Lewis, by overcoming Frederick, and taking him prisoner, got both admission and the empire.

The same was disputed betwixt the Count of Schwartzburgh and Henry the Fourth, till the fortune of the sword gave it to the last; who, to prevent the like controversies for the future, made some laws, with the consent of all the princes of the empire, to which they were to appeal in such difficulties, called *Bulla Aurea*; whereof they show you here the original, written in Latin, preserved in the town-house with great care.

The inhabitants, as to their religion, are either Lutherans, Calvinists or Papists; but not many of the two latter, none being admitted into any office of trust or credit within this city but Lutherans.

The 14th of August was the day appointed for the meeting here of the electors, by the Elector of Mentz, who, as chancellor of the empire, has power to convoke them in case of interregnum, but they came not, many difficulties arising to be decided before the election, which they thought best to determine by their ambassadors, ere they came in person.

These ambassadors made their entrance into Francfort, with no less state and retinue than their masters themselves, and were received by the town with no less solemnity,

The ambassador for the King of Hungary arrived the same day as we, attended by fifteen coaches with six horses a-piece, nine waggons with goods and baggage, covered with houses or sumpter-cloths, and drawn likewise by six horses; each fifteen footmen, all mounted, and several fine led horses. He was received out of the town by the burgomaster or chief magistrate, attended by the rest of the officers of that corporation, and several citizens, with the town militia, who conducted him into the city with colours flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding, to the house designed for him; but this made no great show, the ambassador, with his train, being in mourning for the late deceased emperor.

The most splendid entrance was that of Monsieur de Grammont, Duke Pais, and Marshal of France, and of Monsieur de Lyone, both joined in commission from the French King, led into the town as the former, by the burgomasters and the rest of the citizens; after them twenty-six of the ambassadors' mules, loaded with trunks covered with velvet houses, with a gold and silver fringe ten inches deep; then twenty-two pages in red liveries, covered with gold and silver lace, rich feathers, silk stockings, and laced lining; then eighty gentlemen of the ambassadors' retinue, all well clad and mounted; then the ambassadors' led horses, twelve in number, and most of them barbs; then the twenty-six footmen in the same liveries as the pages, but not altogether so rich; then last of all the ambassadors, with some servants behind them; after them twelve coaches with six horses a-piece, most of them lined with red satin or velvet, richly laced with gold and silver; and in the rear of all four waggons, drawn every one by four horses, covered with red houses, laced like the rest.

Several other ambassadors arrived during my stay *here, as* the Prince Elector Palatine, the Elector of

Cologne, of Treves, and others, which I omit the relation of, because inferior to this.

September the 15th began that so famous fair, or mart of Francfort, furnished with commodities from all parts of Europe, some from Asia and America; it lasts three weeks. Books are here sold of all sorts, and in all languages, but most in loose sheets, whence it is called *Nundinalis Musarum Academia*, and *Francafurtenses Athenæ*—Arumneus says, *Est clara emporio*—

Urbs à Francorum sic vocitata, vado
Cui nil Dî superi, cui nil natura negavit;
Nam si quæ desunt, nec sibi mundus habet.

The town that hath its name from Frenchmens-ford,
So famous for its mart, that doth afford
All that both God and nature can bestow;
For when that wants, the world must want it too.

Though Francfort was a very pleasing sojourn before the fair, by reason of the many several curiosities, the great concourse of people, &c. yet it was chiefly so then; the whole three weeks affording variety of shows, plays, the ambassadors feasting one another, and such-like diversions.

The fair ended, much of the company began to go away, especially those led by curiosity, the winter beginning to come on, and new difficulties daily arising as to the election, which it was believed would require some time to reconcile. One was, the King of Hungary being under eighteen years old, and so incapable, by the imperial laws, of being elected emperor; another was the great endeavours of the French King either to get himself or the Duke of Bavaria elected, hoping thereby to weaken the interest of the house of Austria. Another was, the inferior princes of the empire insisting upon a deputation council to be called, promised them by the late emperor, for rectifying some grievances

which the last diet had not time to amend; which the electors had no mind to grant, before a new election; pleading that grant to be dead with the emperor: but the princes insisted on their request, telling them, that power was lodged in them which was before in the emperor, so that it took up much time. Another was the lower states and princes' petition, for the confirmation of the peace of Munster; by a clause in which they challenge a privilege (*Consilium dandi in electionem*), for they are ambitious of nothing more than a finger in the election. But the electors would no ways consent thereto, as well out of a desire to preserve that prerogative entire to themselves, as also out of fear to disoblige the French, by reviving that peace, who pretend it to be broken by the emperor's sending forces against the Duke of Modena, general of the French forces, in their attempt upon Milan.

All these difficulties were to be reconciled ere they could proceed to the election; so that nothing remaining more to be seen, without staying the whole winter, I left Francfort the 10th of October, 1657, intending to pass down the river Rhine, into Holland, and so again into France. Some German gentlemen and myself took a boat at Francfort, which carried us six miles that afternoon, to Mentz, the usual residence of the elector of that name, where he hath a great castle adjoining to the church, esteemed to have the largest and best painted windows of any in Germany.

Here the river Maine runs into the Rhine, the best river, next the Danube, in Europe, of whose head or fountain I have formerly made mention, having passed near unto it, as I entered into Rhætia. The stream of this river is so violent, that it is only navigable downwards, which made our journey expeditious and pleasant.

The 11th, we refreshed ourselves at a place called *Baccaract* (*quasi* Bacchi Ara) from an altar antiently

erected to Bacchus, (whose ruins are yet apparent) which makes it of a long standing, and anciently famous for the best wine, growing upon the banks of that river, which reputation it still preserves; this is within the palatinate.

Some few leagues further, we passed by an ancient tower, built almost in the middle of the river, called Ratts' Tower, near unto Bingen, which the people there tell you is so called, upon this occasion:—in the year 968, Hatto, second duke of Franconia, afterwards chosen Archbishop of Mentz, in a time of great famine and scarcity, summoned together a great number of poor people, with promise of relief, but instead thereof, put them all into a barn, and set it on fire, saying, they were the rats which devoured the food of the land; whereupon the vengeance of Heaven pursued him with so great an army of those animals, that they fell upon him in the closest rooms, finding passage through the chimneys and the least crannies, till at last, flying to this tower, which he caused to be made for his security, they followed him one night through the water in great droves, and devoured him.

That night we lodged at St. Verre, and the next day, being the 13th of October, we dined at Coblentz, a large town, situate where the river Mose falls into the Rhine. Here the Mose is very large, having over it a stately bridge of fourteen large arches; at one end of this bridge stands the town, at the other a fort belonging to the Elector of Treves, called Hermersten, with a freestone palace after the modern mode, adjoining thereto.

Thereabout, the country was in their vintage, to the prejudice of a gentleman of our company, who surfeited with eating those delicious grapes growing upon the banks of this river. That night we lodged at an obscure village called Hamestean.

The next morning we passed by a great town called

Bon, belonging to the Elector of Cologne, where he then was, and that night we reached Cologne.

Cologne described.

Cologne is one of the best cities in Germany, seated upon the river Rhine; the streets are large, the houses high, the churches and monasteries great and numerous. The town-hall is a stately building; over the portal are written several Latin inscriptions, expressing the occasion of the building of this city by Agrippa, cousin to Augustus Cæsar, *scilicet*, to hinder the incursions of the Suevi into the lower parts of Germany.

In the lower rooms are kept the courts of guards; in the first story the senate doth assemble; the second story contained a great number of Roman arms, distributed into several chambers; as also the third, *scilicet*, bucklers, some of which are of whale-bone; cross-bows, and a great number of bolts. Amongst others there was one of those machines used by the Romans for a battery, called Ballista, *απὸ τῶ θαλλειν*, from darting forth anything: it was much like a cross-bow, but much bigger; the bow itself was of a whale's rib, and as thick as an ordinary man's middle, but smaller towards the ends, three ells long, and the string of a great many small threads, twisted together, proportionably large; the stock was a great piece of wood, hollowed for the lying and more convenient emission of the bolt, which was thicker than an ordinary leg, especially towards one end, shod with iron. This, when fastened between two planks in the desired situation, two men bended with an engine to the due height; the ballister, by touching a spring or nutt, letting it off, which sends away the shaft with an incredible force.

From the top of this house is an easy and pleasant

prospect of the whole town, it being higher than any steeple there.

The cathedral is a fair church, but imperfect, neither the steeple nor body of the church being brought to their first intended height.

There they show several reliques; among others, the bones of eleven thousand virgins of this country, who, for the more easy practice of their Christian religion, followed a king of England's daughter to Cologne, and were all there martyrized with their leader, by a king of the Hunns.

The tombs of the three kings that came to worship our Saviour, first buried at Milan, and afterwards translated hither upon a certain day, which they yet observe as the greatest festival of the whole year. Their bodies, dried like mummy, are that day exposed to public view, the tomb being uncovered. One of them (they tell you) is much blacker than the rest, which they take to be the King of Æthiopia. All the pilgrims (whose devotions lead them thither), that day, are treated and waited on at meat by the senators barefooted.

Near to this tomb lies a vast stone, which they tell you the devil threw in at the top of the church to destroy it, which heaven miraculously diverted; showing a round place in the repair of the roof, where it should enter.

In this church are also the tombs of several electors in brass, and of other princes of the empire. To the canons of the same belongs a great revenue, none being admitted into that number but persons of extraordinary quality, of which only those who are resident can receive the profits of their places; from amongst whom are ever chosen the three ecclesiastical electors of the empire.

The next church of note is that of the Jesuits, built after the modern use: in the middle alley, going up to the choir, stand fourteen excellent statues, our Saviour's with six of the apostles on one hand, our Lady's with

the other six, on the other side. The high altar is richly gilt; over it hang three very ancient pictures, besides many others distributed to other altars and places of the choir.

The greatest part of the inhabitants of this city are Romanists, none being allowed the public practice of their religion but those; nor, by a late law, can any marry and settle amongst them, that is a protestant; which severity, with others in that kind, gives it the name of Roma Germanica.

The women here follow much the mode of Brabant, wearing upon their foreheads a round peak like unto a saucer, of black velvet; from the middle rises a black stalk of the size and length of a man's finger, tufted with silk at the end; from the back of their heads there falls a black veil down to their heels, like widows.

The elector is owned as lord of this city, but cannot continue therein more than three days, without leave from the burgomasters.

Here was born Bruno, the founder of that strict order of the Chartric, by the rules of which establishment the monks are never allowed to eat flesh, or to speak one to another, except at certain times, and those but few.

The 16th of October we continued our journey down the river, discovering a great number of towns and great houses as we passed, on the banks of the river; amongst others Dusseldorff, a great castle and a town, the Duke of Neuburg's residence; a little further a fortified town called Rossaw. At night we lodged at a little town, where they began to speak Low Dutch.

The next day we saw Rainsburgh, a strong town well garrisoned by the Dutch; Wesell, which we durst scarcely look into as we passed, being at that time infected with the plague.

Schenkenschans, where we lay that night, is well fortified both by art and nature, the river surrounding *it, so that* there is no access but by a wood bridge.—

From the top of the works we had a pleasant prospect into the level country thereabout, well stored with towns, amongst which Cleve seemed to raise its head as metropolis, belonging to the Elector of Brandenburgh, and his usual residence.

At Schenkenschans the Rhine divides itself into two branches, one continuing its name, the other called Wael, which we followed to Nimeguen, where we dined; the capital of Gueldria, one of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands.

Before I go farther from Germany, give me leave to give a short account of the constitution of the German government, as also of such customs as I observed practised among that people.

The Germans count their original from Ascanius, the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, and conceive themselves called Germans, *quasi fratres.*

> Germanos vocitant Itali Græci, sed Αδελφος:
> Quod fratrum soleant inter se vivere more.

Towards the declension of the empire, they were called *Allemanni, quasi omnes plane et in totum fortes viri, quasi All-man,* which is now their more general name, though it was once particular to the inhabitants of Suevia, Helvetia, and Bavaria. The empire was translated hither in the person of Charles the Great, who being King of France, and called to Rome to the rescue of Pope Leo III. there besieged by Desiderius, the last king of Lombardy, won with it all the rest of Italy, and was crowned emperor at Rome in the year 800. About that time there was a marriage proposed betwixt Irene, Empress of Constantinople, and Charles the Great, which one, Nicephorus, her relation, understanding, surprised the empress, and sent her prisoner to Lisbon, usurped her empire, and agreed upon a certain division of the two empires with Charles the Great; half of Italy to appertain to the one, and the

other half to the other, as boundaries, only Venice was to remain free and not subject to either.

After this, Charles conquered all Germany, though it is said, it rather willingly submitted itself to him for his great merit, and the relation he had to their country, his predecessors being of the German princes: for, says Carion, *Caroli magni parentes Germanici principes fuerunt et ducatum hereditarium circa Rhenum flumen habuerunt.* The empire continued in the race of Charles the Great forty years, till with the kingdom of Italy it came to the Italian princes, Beringario Duke of Friuli being saluted emperor and king of Italy, by Pope Adrian III. 884, which he continued a short time; Guido, Duke of Spoleti, divesting him of it, and enjoying that quality given him by Pope Steven, till he was also overcome and ousted by Arnolphus, of the race of Charles the Great, in the year 895; from him Beringarius recovered the empire, but soon lost it to Otho King of Almania, who was crowned emperor at Rome by John, the 12th pope, in the year 961; since when it has been fixed to the German nation, and called *Imperium Romanum Germanicum.* The model of it, as it remains at this day, was established by Henry, the fourth emperor, who made certain necessary laws, for the more commodious choosing of emperors, and the rectifying of such matters as had formerly embroiled the states of the empire, which he called *Bulla Aurea*, to this day strictly observed.

The empire consists of Cæsar at the head, and secondly, electors of the princes and free cities, as the members called the states. A new emperor is elected either upon the death or resignation of his predecessor.

The electors of the empire are now eight. The Bishops of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, the King of Bohemia, the Prince Palatine, Duke of Saxony, Duke of Bavaria, and Marquis of Brandenburgh. These have *only* suffrage in the election—*Sechsis aliis Imperii*

ordinibus quos ante Frederici Secundi Imperium eligendis Cæsaribus sæpius interfuisse proditum est, all the rest of the states being excluded, who till the reign of Frederick the Second had also their vote; this was about the year 1235, that the power of elector was placed only in seven.

The electors ecclesiastical are the three archbishops; the secular ones are those of Bohemia, the Palatinate, Saxony, Bavaria, and Brandenburgh.

The electoral power adheres not to their persons, but principalities, into which the three ecclesiastical are elected, and the King of Bohemia; the four others have them by succession, which failing, the emperor then being has power to constitute others.

The manner of the election is thus:—The Elector of Mentz is to give notice to all the electors within one month after the death of the emperor, to assemble within three months next following, at Francfort, for the choice of a new emperor; that no elector bring with him above two hundred horse, of which fifty are only to be armed; and that the citizens of Francfort admit none to enter but that number, whether appertaining to the electors or others, of what quality soever.

Being assembled, they hear mass in the church of St. Bartholomew; which done, they are sworn to choose a fit person King of the Romans (for he must be King of the Romans before he is emperor) without bribery or reward; and this to be done within thirty days, or that they shall drink water and eat nothing but bread, till the election be made.

The order of giving their votes is, that the Elector of Mentz first gives in his to the rest of the electors, and then takes theirs, first of the Bishop of Treves, then of the Bishop of Cologne, next the King of Bohemia's, next the King of Bavaria's (who has now the palatine's place), then the Saxon's, the Brandenburgh's, and lastly the Palatine's. That person is

elected that has most votes; and an elector's vote in favour of himself is valid.

As soon as chosen, the emperor, in observance of his oath, is to confirm all the liberties and immunities of the empire and electors, before he intermeddles with the government; which done, he is declared chosen to the people, by the Bishop of Mentz, and then crowned after this manner:—First, he is anointed; then he receives the imperial ensigns, a crown, a sword, a golden ball with the cross upon it, and the habit. He receives these from the hands of the Bishop of Cologne. He takes two oaths, one before the coronation, to preserve the Catholic faith, the liberties of the empire, to reign according to justice and the laws of the land; another after, to pay due honour and respect to the Pope.—The crown is of gold.

Formerly the emperors were crowned with two other crowns; one of iron at Milan, by the bishop thereof; and another of thorns, by the Pope at Rome, and afterwards with one of gold; till then he was rather called *Rex Romanorum*, or *electus*, than emperor. But it was determined in the year 1339, in an assembly of the states at Cologne, Lewis the Fifth being then chosen King of the Romans:—*Ex solâ electione septem virorum Imperatorem centendum sine papæ consensu; non enim coronatur ut Imperator sit; sed cùm Imperator sit, ideo ut coronetur.*

That the votes of the electors alone made the emperor, without the consent of the pope; for he is not crowned that he may be emperor, but when he is emperor therefore to be crowned.

Charles the Fifth was the last emperor that was crowned at Rome. Upon every new election a great tribute is laid upon the empire, towards the charge of this once usual voyage.

After the coronation, the emperor dines in public, attended by the Elector of Brandenburgh, in the quality

of high chamberlain; by the Palatine, as chief waiter; by the Duke of Saxony, as sword-bearer; by the King of Bohemia, as butler; and the three archbishops as chancellors of the empire, according to these verses of Papaberg de Juribus Imperialibus.

Moguntinensis Treverencis coloniensis
Quilibet Imperii sit cancellarius horum,
Et Palatinus dapifer, dux portitorensis
Marchio prepositus, cameræ pincerna Bohæmus.
Illi statuunt dominum cunctis per secula summum.

But at present the Palatine hath lost his place to the Bavarian, and is in lieu thereof *Præfectus Ærarii*, or treasurer.

The second degree of the states are the princes of the empire, and these are either ecclesiastical, or secular; the secular ones are such earls, viscounts, barons, and what titles soever, as dukes, archdukes, marquisses, and landgraves, who by virtue of their free tenure of lands and territories within the empire, have *jus suffragii in comitiis*, their votes in the assembly of the states, of which are these families, Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, the Prince Palatine, being both of the same, Dukes of Brunswick, Anhalt, Pomerania, Lunenburgh, the Archdukes of Austria, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, Landgrave of Hessia, the Counts of Hennebergh and others.

The ecclesiastical princes are either so born, and in orders; or prelates, that is, princes by the privilege of their cure, who are numbered with the secular princes in the same order of states, and have likewise their suffrage. These prelate princes are now about twelve in number, with the Abbot of Ludea.

The third classis is the imperial or free cities, which either for some signal services done to the empire, or by purchase, have obtained extraordinary immunities and regal rights, of making peace or war, choosing their own

officers, coining of money, &c. These are usually governed by a senate, and a great council.

The great council consists of all the patricians, with some few of the richest and most considerable plebeians. This nominates the senators, who are thirty-six patricii, and eight of the inferior or common rank, in some places more, some less. Impositions, and peace or war, with matters of the highest moment, are appointed by the great council; the senate determines those which are less, and yet is the highest court of judicature for civil causes, from whence there is no appeal. Their way of trial is either by equity or by the civil law, but more by the first, wherein they regard not pleading, but evidence.

The senate appoints and nominates all officers, both military and civil, as captains, the two chancellors, the treasurers, the judges of the markets, clerks of the exchequer, &c. In fine, it is a kind of aristocracy, and though the gentlemen have much the superiority, the government is moderate and equal. This is the government of Curnbergh, not much different from the other free cities in form, which, as I have said, are reputed the last degree of the states, and have their several votes in the assemblies of the states by their deputies.

When the assembly of states of the empire is to be made, Cæsar, with the consent of the electors, convokes them by his letters, appointing the time and place, provided it be within the empire. When they are met, Cæsar declares to them, by his secretary, the reason of their meeting; which they return to their several lodgings to consider of, till the appointed time to deliver their sense, and then divide themselves into three classes aforesaid, of the electors, princes, and free cities. If two of these, or the major part of them, carry the proposite in the affirmative, it passes; if in the negative, Cæsar has no power to proceed without their consent, nor *does the assent of* the states without Cæsar's make a law.

In these diets or assemblies, such capital matters are managed as Cæsar cannot determine of his own power, as touching peace or war, settlement of religion, taxes, coining of money, truces, granting of tenures, releasing from services, &c. Besides this, there are other three chief courts of judicature; first, the convention of every circle within itself, for Germany was divided into ten circles by Maximilian, emperor, in the year 1512: Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the upper country of the Rhine, Westphalia, the Upper Saxony, Austria, Burgundia, the electorate of the Rhine, and Lower Saxony: and every one of these have power to choose a chief magistrate, with four councillors to advise him, and to convoke the states together within themselves, to consult of either ordinary or extraordinary affairs.

The second court is the imperial chamber, held at Spire four times a year, and continued sitting forty days, for the trial of causes of the greatest concern in the empire.

The third court is the burgraves right, where things of *meum* & *tuum* are usually recovered.—And this short relation shall serve as to the empire's political constitution.

As to the people, they are for the most part dull and robust, of fair complexion, but stiff and constrained in their carriage; they may rather be termed subtle than witty, and yet, they are usually knowing in some science or other, as the mathematics, the civil law, &c. supplying with industry what they want in ability to improve their knowledge in the latter; for being the law of their country, there is no preferment without it.

They know all languages, it being reputed a blemish to a gentleman not to travel; but rarely speak any well, though Latin the best, which they are brought up to speak as freely as their own, but not so true. They drink excessively, and do their affairs *inter pocula*, as

the more capable, when sharpened with liquor, which makes foreign princes send good topers rather than good statesmen to them on embassies. At their feasts, they sit at table sometimes six hours, sometimes longer; in fine, till the company be drunk, for it is reputed a discredit to suffer a guest to go away sober. At an invitation I saw made at Francfort by the Bishop Elector of Mentz, to the French ambassadors, they sat at table from noon till night, having chamber-pots placed near them, to avoid excuses of escape. This vice, with the temper of their cold climate, secures them from that of venery, withal, not receiving much provocation from their women, who are certainly the worst shaped, biggest boned, and every way the coarsest women of Europe. They are people of courage, and so cannot be treacherous; and true friends where they take.

To marry below their own quality, that is, less than a gentleman, though upon ever so valuable considerations, is a great blemish amongst them, not only to the person herself, but to the family, being very strict in their rules of gentility.

The laws of inheritance differ among them, according to places; in some, the eldest son has *jus primogenituræ*, the privilege of birthright; but usually the inheritance is equally divided amongst the brothers; as the honour thoughout Germany descends upon all alike, so that an earl or baron, &c. having ten or more sons, they have all the same title. This is the cause of much poor nobility, which to take upon them a trade to enrich, is looked upon as degrading.

The Germans keep their wives in too great subjection, seldom allowing them to eat with them, but with their maids, and when they do, they are seated below all the company; when they are offended with them, they publicly strike them; they have a proverb, that women are best in the kitchen. Adultery is in many places punishable with death. Lost virginity carries a

continual reproach with it; beauty, quality, or estate, seldom procuring it marriage.

The field sports of the nobility are for the most part hunting, either the stag, wild boar, or wolves, all of which the vast woods in that country harbour in great numbers.

The openly professed religions within Germany are the Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Popery.

The first is professed by the Elector of Saxony, his territory, and many of the imperial towns. The second by the Prince Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburgh, and several other princes of the empire. The third is most universal.

The laws of the protestant princes tie up their subjects to profess the same opinion, or else to quit their country within five years, except under the Elector of Brandenburgh.

By example: the Duke of Neuburg being a papist prince, and likely to die without issue, his heir is the Prince of Saltzburgh, a protestant; so that upon this change, his subjects must also change their religion, or flitt within the time above mentioned.

The emperor has no demesne, not so much as a house, as he is emperor, nor other revenue, except some few taxes imposed upon lands or commodities, with the consent of the states; but these never but upon great emergencies, which is a great reason it has so long continued in the house of Austria, which having, with the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, a fair revenue of its own, makes it the better able to support itself, and with less charge to the states. Henry, the fourth emperor, was he that sold the last snips of the crown demesnes, bribing the electors with the money, to chuse his son King of the Romans, in order to the empire.

The peasants are not so miserable as those of France, and yet not much superior, contenting themselves with mean diet, mostly herbs and roots, and clothes ragged,

but withal are so rude and brutish, that in many places they scarcely seem to differ from beasts.

I was credibly informed by a gentleman of Dantzick, that in some parts of Prussia the peasants will ordinarily go into the vast woods, there fancy themselves to be wolves, prey upon raw flesh for some months, go upon all fours, and fly from the sight of man; whether from frenzy, or that they are actually transformed, said he, is doubted, which would appear more ridiculous, had not some Greek authors written long since of this kind of metamorphosis, calling it Lupanthropia, from being sometimes man, sometimes wolves; and that we know Nebuchadnezzar ate grass with beasts for some time.

The cookery of Germany is not extraordinary, less valuing their meat, if they have but drink. Flesh they give in small quantities, but roots plentifully, especially cabbage. They make a sort of broth called swoop, of beer boiled with bread. Fish they have in plenty, which they serve up with white vinegar for sauce. Gingerbread and stewed prunes always come up at the second course. A calf's head they serve up boiled, but undivided. In some places they put anniseeds in their bread. They use much salt, little sugar, but most in pottage. Bacon they eat much.

Wines in this country are generally bad and sour, except Rhenish; which makes them drink much beer, which is for the most part thick and bitter. Inns are here very dirty and dear, where you must lie between two featherbeds and without sheets, and very often the bedsteads are a yard and more from the ground, so that there is a step two foot high to get up. They use no chimneys but stoves, except in their kitchens.

In their drinking they use little jollity, but sit like players at chess, till one side fall. When you are drunk to, it is a rudeness to refuse the glass, which, if you cannot drink, you are to place by you till you can, and are to leave none undrank, be there ever so many

before you, when you rise: the only way therefore to rise sober from meals is, when you have such a number of glasses before you, as you think you may conquer, to leave the table. Thus much of Germany.

The Low Countries.

I arrived at Nimeguen the 13th of October, the metropolis of Gueldria; on one side stand the ruins of an ancient tower, built, says tradition, by Julius Cæsar. This city is well fortified by a strong wall, and some outworks, as half moons, and tanaglyes on one side, with the river on the other. It is manned with some English, Scotch, and French companies of foot.

The 19th, about noon, we embarked upon the same river, passing by several fair towns and forts, seated upon the banks, till we came to Tuill, where we refreshed ourselves.

A beggar and mere natural there asking an alms of us, it was told us he was the brother of sixteen fools like himself, by one father and mother.

The next place of note we passed by, was the Fort of St. Andrew, where our pilot, not perceiving a bank cast up under the water, to break the violence of the waves against the bank, had near cast us away by running the boat against it. That night we lay at Bonil, a fair strong town belonging to the Prince of Orange.

The 20th, continuing our journey down the river, we passed the castle of Lovestin, the prison for people of quality; it is very strong and well fortified; then by Doort (the first town for place in Holland); for we durst not go in, the plague then raging excessively at that time, and yet the master of the boat took in a sick passenger, of what disease we knew not, nor did the Dutch seem much to inquire, it being, it seems, customary for them to visit one another with the plague

running on them. That night we came to Rotterdam, a fair stately town, where Erasmus was born; they show yet the ruins of his house, and his statue in brass upon the bridge.

There we left going in great boats with sails, and went in small passage boats, after the manner of Hull, and drawn by horses through their cut rivers, of which one goes off every hour from one great town to another, affording an easy, certain, and commodious way of travelling through most part of the Low Countries. In one of these boats I went for Delft with my servant only that I knew, leaving the company that came with me out of Germany at Rotterdam; I arrived in an hour there. I stayed some five hours to view the town and the tombs of the princes of Orange and Van Tromp, and went off in another boat the same day for the Hague, where I arrived so early as to see the Queen of Bohemia, and all the good company of the town at a French play, acted by the Prince of Condé's comedians; which done, having kissed the princess royal's hand, who also had her residence there, I left it the next day in the afternoon, and by coach first went to Haerlem, another large stately town, and afterwards to Amsterdam.

There are none of these towns which do not deserve a particular and long description, were they not so near our own country, as to be known to most persons, either by sight or relation; therefore I shall only name them as I pass.

Amsterdam is seated much like Venice, near the sea, the streets divided by several channels that run through them, built over with wood bridges in several places; the usual way of carriage being in boats down these channels, or else in wheel-barrows or little carts, drawn by a mastiff dog, fearing that greater carriages might shake the foundations, which are all artificial, upon piles of a great length driven into the ground. The *town-hall*, which was near finishing when I was there,

and built at the public expence, is certainly, for carved stone on the outside, and quantity of marble within, the finest piece of the kind in Europe. The exchange is like that of London in the city, as to model. Amongst other fine churches the new one is the best. In the choir is a great deal of carved work in brass, the organ good as beautiful, which, as precise as they are reputed in Holland, are allowed in all protestant churches, though never to play till service be done, and sometimes at evenings, when candles being lighted, company walk in the churches to hear them.

The theatre is a handsome piece, built at the public charge, where players act twice a week; the officers of the town, receiving the profits, distribute a certain allowance to the actors, and the rest to the poor.

The new chimes of bells, two years since invented by a High German, and placed near the exchange, are very extraordinary, being so contrived, that they do not only play several hard tunes very distinctly of themselves, but may be played on by keys like organs.

Having stayed here four days, I returned to the Hague, then to Delft, and so went to Leyden. This is the chief university in Holland; a handsome town: the college or schools large and well contrived, as also the anatomy room, where you see several dried dissections of most sorts of creatures—amongst others, of an entire whale, whole mummies, and other physical curiosities.

From Leyden I went by boat to Utrecht, tugged by oars, and was sixteen hours in going, all the night the wind being high and contrary.

This is the metropolis of the province so called, the highest and best seated town for air in all the Low Countries: an university, but not much frequented. I stopped here four days, and then took leave of the States' dominions, intending for Antwerp.

The season of the year being past to go by land, the

depth of the roads obliged me to go by water, and I embarked on the 13th of November with a prosperous wind, which wafted us as far as Doort, and there left us; so that turning into our faces, we cast anchor before the town, where I rather chose to go and lie, though the plague was in it, than in a stinking keel crowded with passengers.

The next day the wind continuing contrary, we went but two miles; the third day we had a very dangerous place to pass, where two rapid rivers meeting, make a very rough water, especially when the wind is high and in that quarter. Our master, after some dispute with himself, resolved to venture passing, but before we came near the danger, by good luck our sail broke with the violence of the wind, which forced us to harbour in a creek till more favourable weather.

The next day, the wind changed again into the bad quarter, and continuing high, drove the waves often into our keel, when we came into the broad waters, so that (not without frequent hazards of being cast away) we arrived at Antwerp the fifth day, feeding on the watermen's fare, to wit, coarse bread, stinking butter, and raw muscles, with small beer, the last four days; for we had only laid in provisions of our own for one day, being the usual time for the passage in favourable weather, but this we paid for at the rate of better commons to the ship-master.

Antwerp is the metropolis of that part of Brabant called the Marquisate, near eight miles in circuit, and a town of great traffic, till the Hollanders, by stopping up in a manner the haven, have got much of that trade to Amsterdam. The houses are built of brick, as those in Holland, but higher; the streets larger but not so clean; nor is it possible where coaches and carts are continually passing. The churches are fair and numerous, especially the cathedral, beautified with much carved work on the outside, and several rich monuments in

marble and brass, as also pictures, within. The Jesuits' church, after the modern fashion, finished about thirty years since, has almost the whole inside of marble, the pillars that support the roof being thirty-two in number and of the same, whereof sixteen are of white and red marble, which for the greatness, and being all of one piece, are very extraordinary; the wood-work is all carved; the statues and pictures, which are many, are of great value. There are some convents, of which there is one English. The exchange, the town-house, and the citadel, one of the strongest in Europe, are also very remarkable,

Having staid here two days, I took boat for Brussels; where I met with one Mr. Howard, a priest, of the Norfolk family, and brother to the present Duke (since made Cardinal). I was forced to dissemble my country, and pretend to be a Frenchman (which I had enough to do with my countrymen); for had it been known in England that I passed through Flanders, where the King of England then was, it had afforded colour enough to Oliver to sequester my estate, besides the danger of being made prisoner in Flanders, at that time an enemy's country, and travelling without leave or passport. In ten hours' time I got to Brussels in Brabant, the constant residence of the viceroy or governor of the Low Country, under his Majesty of Spain, who at my being there, was Don Jean of Austria, natural son of the King of Spain, begotten on a comedian.

His train and equipage were not inferior to those of most princes of Europe. In his stable were eighty-nine saddle-horses, coach-horses for ten coaches, and each coach had six a-piece; his pages were six, and his footmen twelve. The officers of his household and his guards were numerous, besides the guards of his person. But his court was the less splendid by reason that carrying high, and having the Spanish morosity,

less application was made to him by the gentlemen of the country, than had been to others in that place, especially his predecessor, Duke Leopold of Austria, who was well beloved in his government.

The palace where he resides is a large irregular building, and derives much advantage by the stately furniture and pictures. On the back of the house is a paddock, containing two hundred fallow deer, where the company at nights often take the fresh air. In the chapel I heard vespers, sung by excellent Italian voices, with instruments belonging to Don Jean.

In a palace opposite to this, lived the Prince of Condé, who had no less a court of revolted French, than the other of true Spaniards.

The churches are numerous and large, especially the cathedral and that of the Jesuits, but not to be compared to those of Antwerp; there is also an English nunnery here.

After a few days' stay I returned to Antwerp in a chariot, (or rather a cart, for, though covered, they are fastened to the axle-trees), with three horses; and this some Dutchmen and myself hired for greater expedition, the way back by water being much more tedious than it was coming.

On the 24th of November I left Antwerp, and took boat for Flushing in Zealand, by the way of Middleburg, the metropolitan of that province, where we arrived in one day. About the midway we discovered two steeples, lifting up their tops out of the water, which they say are the only visible reliques of seventy villages, drowned with the country adjacent, by a sudden eruption of the sea at one time.

Two leagues short of Middleburg we came into the broad sea, called the Dog of Flushing; some say, from the noise of that water, in high winds, resembling the barking of dogs; others, from the great number of sea-dogs seen upon those sands at low tides, having the

form of a dog in the front and of a fish backwards, which, when going on the sands, they trail after them; their skin is not unlike that of a castor, and sells at a dearer rate. A keel was here cast away four days before, which the danger of the place, from so many grand channels here emptying themselves into the sea, makes usual.

Middleburg is the first city of Zealand, a handsome sea-town, and of great traffic; it has one of the best havens of the Low Countries.

In an hour's time, the next day, we were hurried in a waggon, all on a causeway to Flushing, a famous sea-port; to look from the town, the sea seems higher than it, round about it, and would certainly overflow it, did not an incredible expence in repairing the banks in some measure secure it; the town's-people will tell you that it costs them millions.

The town is rich, large, and populous—through it pass channels, where vessels of all sizes, and some of sixty guns a-piece, ride safely at anchor.—Having staid here six days for a wind favourable for France, I took the first opportunity of going in a little frigate, laden with merchandise, and bound for St. Valary, a little sea-port in Picardy, the first of January, about two in the afternoon.

After it began to be dark, though the wind continued in a good quarter, it was so violent, that the master would have cast anchor till morning, not willing to trust altogether to his compass in these narrow seas, but he found he could not without danger of losing his anchor; so that, steering his course towards a lanthorn, hung out, as he thought, from some ships that had set out before us the same way, it proved to be the lanthorn of Dover Castle; which had very near run us upon Dover sands, when an almost too late discovery of his mistake, by sounding, saved us out of the jaws of ruin, for we were within twelve-score of running on ground.

After we had used all the strength and art imaginable to tow her off, he cast anchor till towards morning, when day showed us St. Valary, but we chose rather to land at a little village called Calleux, in Normandy, from whence a sloop discovering us, came out about a league to fetch us.—But here a word or two of the Low Countries.

The Description of the Low Countries, Commonwealth, and its People.

It was formerly called by Cæsar, Belgia, which was afterwards the name to seventeen provinces, under the sovereignty of the Dukes of Burgundy, till Charles V. emperor, giving them to his son Philip, King of Spain, and he imposing both the inquisition and new taxes upon them, caused seven of the richest and most considerable of them to revolt, and to put themselves under the protection of Queen Elizabeth, by whose help they threw off the Spanish subjection, and modelized a commonwealth to themselves of the following form—

First, In which we will consider first the government of every particular city.

Secondly, Of the provinces by themselves.

Thirdly, Of the provinces joined, or of the union.

As to the first, *scilicet*, the cities are governed by a supreme council, composed of a certain number of choice people.—Secondly, a chief magistrate or burgomaster, sometimes two.—Thirdly, inferior officers, as sheriffs, treasurers, recorders, and others. The persons of the council seldom alter, the other officers yearly.

The government of every particular province, consists of an assembly of the two estates, nobility and citizens, within every province, two states which are seldom called but upon extraordinary occasion. When

they are to meet, notice is given to the gentry, which are now but few, and the cities, to appear by their deputies, upon which some are deputed for the nobility, as also the burgomaster, with some other officers of every city, to the place appointed, for consulting of matters in question; under this is a council composed of the two estates, which is usually permanent, as deputies of the province's assembly.

Every province has also a council of law or justice for the determining of causes within themselves, to which there is power of appeal from the cities within their particular limits, except of things criminal, which are finally judged in cities. The law they judge by, is almost a statute law, or edicts made by the states upon occasion, and where they are wanting, by the civil law.

Every province, besides, has a governor, and sometimes all of them the same, as Count Maurice of Nassau, and others of the same family, which have now little authority, though it was very considerable; for they were generalissimos of the armies; they took care of the safeguard of the province, nothing was resolved on in the provincial assembly without their consent, and the officers were disposed of by him, the states offering their three elect to him, whereof he appointed one for every place; he had also power to remit punishment of offenders. The governors have yet some colour of the same power.

Now as to the government of the whole Union, or seven provinces conjoined, it consists in the grand assembly of the two estates (that is, the nobility and the deputies of the cities) of all the seven provinces, which is never called together but upon some extraordinary occasion relating to the whole union, as upon peace or war, treaties of general trade, new confederacies, or dissolving those already made, raising extraordinary sums of money, disposing of a public stock, &c. When this is to be convoked, the provinces send

more or fewer deputies of both estates, as they judge proper, to compose it, not giving their votes personally, but provincially, so that the assembly is divided into as many votes as there are provinces, which must all concur for the concluding of anything before them, because every province has sometimes a particular interest, distinct from the rest, so that the advantage of some may be the loss of others.

If all do not agree, but the major part, and the negatives seem more out of crossness of the deputies than reason; a certain number of them are chosen and sent back to consult the dissenting province, if by any means they may be gained to comply with the rest. But because this assembly is of great charge and trouble, (for at that of Bergamupsome, when the peace was concluded with Spain, the number of the gentlemen and deputies of towns amounted to eight hundred and odd), they are called only upon very urgent affairs.

There is a council-general of these provinces sitting continually, composed of such deputies as every province thinks fit to send from time to time, which have the power of the grand assembly, in things of less moment, relating to the general interest, which is like a committee of the States-general. This council has power to choose some deputy for president, who continues but one week in office, and then another is chosen from amongst the deputies of the next province, till it has gone round all the provinces, having an equal prerogative, but not an equal place.

The first begin with Guelderland, as having been a dutchy, then Holland, then Zealand as a county, then Utrecht, Friezland, Over Yssell, Grayning, as baronies. Besides this council of the States-general, there is a council of state, which disposes of things relating to the war, and the monies disposed of in land-service, and consult with the States-general in matters

of the greatest concern. This is composed of certain deputies sent by the provinces for this purpose. The governors of provinces also hold their session here. Then there is a council of finances, or of the general treasury, and last a council of the admiralty, which take care of the sea-affairs, and of such monies as the United Provinces get by the return of their trade. This council is divided into six members, four of them are distributed in Holland, one in Zealand, and one in Friezland, and consists of deputies commissioned by those provinces for that service.

These councils of public concern have their session at the Hague for the most part, except that of the admiralty, which is divided, as I have said, into several provinces.

The General Union have with these a general of their armies and an admiral of their fleet, &c. so that this government seems to be partly aristocratical, and partly democratical—the nobility, and commonalty or citizens of two estates, (for the clergy is wholly excluded, except in the province of Utrecht, where they yet appear by deputies), holding the whole sovereignty.

The ten provinces under the King of Spain retain their old government, a moderate monarchy, whereof the king is the head; the three estates consist of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty the members.

When any business requires it, the power is in the king, either to call together the states provincial or general, to appoint governors of provinces, the chief magistrates of cities, confer offices and honours upon the nobility, and dispose of the places of judicature, with other prerogatives.

The king or his deputy has always three councils chosen from out of the provinces under his government. The first is the council of state for the management of public and most important affairs, the states not being

in session—The council of the treasury regarding the revenue, whether rising from the prince's patrimony, or the contributions of the provinces—The private council, for matters of justice and such other rights as depend solely upon the prince's authority.

Most of the ten provinces under the King of Spain are fruitful, abounding with several commodities, necessary for the relief and support of the inhabitants, of their own growth; but some of the United Provinces wholly depend on traffic for their very clothes and food, wherein they use so much industry, that they have robbed the greatest part of the world of their trade (as Lisbon, formerly the storehouse of the Indies), now removed to Amsterdam; Antwerp, from whence merchandise was distributed formerly, before the revolt of the Netherlands, into all parts of Europe: so that by their great knowledge and pains in navigation, though some of these provinces produce little or no corn, flax, wool, fish, cattle, yet the place abounds with more plenty of bread, fish, flesh, linen, and woollen cloths, wines, and all other necessaries for the food and convenience of man.

The revenue of these United Provinces is wholly raised by impositions laid upon all sorts of commodities which, to defray the charge, arise to an incredible expence, so that the excise must be proportionable. But they well know that there can be no plenty without trade, nor liberty without sea and land forces to maintain it, and no supporting of trade and armies without money; so that they willingly submit to such contributions as would make less considerate people mutiny, and fly in the face of the government. The impost upon Rhenish wine is reported as much as the price; upon horses, oxen, cows, sold and resold in the market *toties quoties*, the sixth part of the price; upon cattle feeding in pastures, two stivers a head, which is about *two pence English*, by the week; upon each tun of

beer, six Dutch shillings, some four English, and so proportionably upon other commodities, the most useful being the most taxed; but nothing almost escapes its share, except commodities sold in camps, or to scholars in universities. In time of war, impositions are much higher according to their necessities.

The religions allowed and professed in the United Provinces are many, such as Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Brownists, and what not; for they admit persons of all countries and opinions amongst them, knowing well that this liberty draws people, numbers of people increase trade, and that trade brings money; but the prevailing and most publicly practised is Calvinism.

Under the Spaniard the only tolerated profession as to religion, is popery. In his dominions are two archbishopricks, that of Maline and that of Cambray, and ten bishopricks, but all of them mean and poorly endowed, except those three of Cambray, Tournay, and Arras.

As to the humour and customs of the Low Dutch, they retain much of the High Germans, (as to their debaucheries especially), yet they have a great aversion one to another.

The Low Dutch call the High, muffes, that is, *etourdi*, as the French have it, or blockhead; upbraiding them with their heaviness; and the return is *hair-scalp* or *hair-head*, implying the Low Dutch light-headed: what they want of solidity I know not, but the Hollanders with their associates are generally allowed more apprehensive and quick than the Germans.

The gentry of the Union are very few, and those are grown extremely rustic and uncouth since their change of government, according to that—*Batavorum optimates ad reipublicæ genium quam ipsi fecere, animos quoque et mores velut in vulgus* deduxerunt.

The truth is, gentlemen have there the least respect in any place, especially strangers, they paying treble rates for everything they have occasion for as they travel, and being pursued and pointed at by the rabble, until they refuge themselves in their inn; nay, an easy provocation will make them throw dirt and stones at you—*Proceres Hispanicæ ditionis plus stimulis aularum exercentur.*

The gentlemen under the Spaniard learn more civility from the example of the courtiers, and by the gentry the common people learn to be less rude.

As to the persons of the Low Dutch, they are generally tall and well-favoured, and fair-haired, but stiff and ill-carriaged; they speak languages well, especially French and English, which they are taught at school as well as their own.

The women are handsome, and allow of great freedom, but are esteemed more chaste than they appear to be. They use much a little kind of stove like a covered chafing dish, full of charcoal, which they carry upon their arms like a basket, to church and market, and so soon as they are seated, clap under their coats to keep them warm.

They feed very sparingly, the best citizens seldom eating warm flesh above twice in a week, and that boiled.

When the pot is set on, they usually invite some friends, serving first of all the broth with sops in it, like brose, then the flesh, but sit drinking two or three hours after; fish they eat much:—

Ignotum est sive hanc sitim fortuna terrarum, vel ex majoris Germaniæ viciniâ sicut spiritus, sive mos educandæ infantiæ accendit; quippe adhuc ab ubere pendentibus lagunculas ad similitudinem, uberis affictas et hordeaco potu plenas tradunt in manu.

It is not known whether the climate, the neighbourhood of the bigger Germany, or education from

infancy, occasions this their thirst; for while they suck, they feed them with beer in bottles made like a breast (says my author).

Their drinks are a sweetish muddy beer, wines, strong waters of all sorts, but especially brandy. They take much tobacco.

The peasants that live in villages, are in general rich, making great returns of their dairies, and feeding on nothing but butter and cheese, and in summer on beans and roots boiled with bacon.

In the chief inns they treat well, but at dear rates, for it is impossible to eat well under a crown ordinary, nor is it strange, considering the great imposts upon all commodities.

The Flemings want much of the courage and spirit of the Germans, being insulted over and abused in their travels, more than any nation whatever; but when they make any drunken quarrel, they decide it by *snyck* or *sny*, as they term it; that is, either by slashing or stabbing with knives, unless they are parted till they are sober, and then the danger is not great.

The wives mostly wear the breeches, and insult over their husbands with words upon easy occasion, being much favoured by the laws of the country, which inflict punishments upon those that misuse their wives, and allowing the women not only to take back, upon the death of the husband, the portion they brought him, but also half of the estate or property he has accumulated whilst they live together, and to dispose of it at her pleasure.

The towns are great, the streets large, the houses of brick, some three and some four stories high, and the streets cleaner than most houses in other countries, and their houses neat to an uneasy degree, one scarce daring to stir or spit in them, for fear of disobliging the mistress by disordering them.—And thus much in short of the Low Countries.

From Calleux, we were forced (some Frenchmen and myself) to hire a cart to Dieppe, the only carriage that village afforded. From Dieppe we took horses to Rouen, and went from thence with the messenger to Paris, where we arrived the beginning of January, 1657.

After some months' stay at Paris, to take a more perfect account of certainly the finest court and city of Europe, than my last short stay would permit, I set forward for England on the second of May, by the way of Dieppe, arriving safely at London on the 20th, in the year 1658, after four years' absence from my own country.

The Effiges of the most high and mighty Monarch
CHARLES *the fecond by the Grace of God King of*
Great Britaine. France. and Ireland; Defender of
the faith. &c.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN RERESBY

From the Year 1658 *to the Year* 1689

On September 23, 1658, died the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest and bravest men, had his cause been good, the world ever saw. His actions I leave to the historian; and having been very near his person but once, at an audience of an ambassador at Whitehall, I can only say that his figure did not come up to his character; he was indeed a likely person, but not handsome, nor had he a very bold look with him. He was plain in his apparel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will, and was doubtless, the deepest dissembler on earth.

The Duke of Buckingham, who had attended the king in his exile, had disobliged, and left his majesty some time before, and was now endeavouring to marry the daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Fairfax, formerly the parliament's general, and unto whom had been granted the greatest part of the said duke's estate. This duke was the finest gentleman, both for person and wit, I think I ever saw; but he knew not how to be long serious, or mindful of business; and had behaved with some insolence to the king, which was the cause of their separation. It was on the 12th of August

1659, that I first became acquainted with him, and he from the very first moment expressed a kindness for me.

It was now easy to perceive that a way was paved to facilitate the king's return; but still the rump kept up some face of state; and I remember to have been present at a dinner, given by the city of London, to Lambert and other officers of the army, by far more costly and splendid, than any I ever saw given afterwards to his majesty; so much is awe more prevalent than love.

Continuing but in a indifferent state of health, I partly for that reason, and partly for others, returned to Paris in October, where I had no sooner put myself into some equipage, but I endeavoured to be known at our queen mother's court, which she then kept at the Palace Royal. Her majesty had none of her children with her, but the princess Henrietta Maria; and few of the English making their court there, I was the better received. As I spoke the language of the country and danced pretty well, the young princess, then about fifteen years of age, behaved towards me with all the civil freedom that might be; she made me dance with her, play on the harpsichord to me in her highnesses chamber; suffered me to wait on her as she walked in the garden, and sometimes to toss her in a swing between two trees, and in fine, to be present at all her innocent diversions.

The queen commanded me to attend as often as I conveniently could; she had a great affection for England, notwithstanding the severity of usage she and hers had met with there. With the great men and ladies of France, she discoursed much in praise of the people and country, of their courage, their generosity, their good nature, and would excuse all the late misfortunes, as brought about by some desperate enthusiasts, rather than proceeding from the genius and temper of the nation. To give a little instance of her inclination for the English, I happened to carry an English

gentleman with me one day to court, and he, to be very fine, had got him a garniture of rich ribbon to his suit, in which was a mixture of red and yellow; which the queen observing, called to me, and bad me advise my friend to mend his fancy a little, as to his ribbons, the two colours he had joined, being ridiculous in France, and might give the French occasion to laugh at him.

I had three cousins then in an English convent at Paris, one of them an antient lady, and since abbess of the house: Hither the queen was wont often to retire for some days; and the lady would tell me that Lord Jermyn, since St. Albans, had the queen greatly in awe of him, and indeed it was obvious that he had great interest with her concerns; but that he was married to her, or had children by her, as some have reported, I did not then believe, though the thing was certainly so.

The court of France was very splendid this winter, 1660; a grand mask was danced at the Louvre, where the king and princess Henrietta of England danced to admiration: But there was now a greater resort to the palace than the French court; the good humour and wit of our queen mother, and the beauty of the princess her daughter being more inviting than any thing that appeared in the French queen, who was a Spaniard.

The queen mother received the news of his majesty's happy restoration, with all imaginable demonstrations of joy, and, among other things, gave a noble ball at court, to which every body of the greatest quality was invited, and to which all the English gentlemen then at Paris, had admittance. Having been ill some time before, I would have been excused from dancing, but the queen commanded me to take out the cardinal's niece, I obeyed.

I stayed at Paris till August, and received more

honours from the queen and the princess her daughter, than I deserved, or could acknowledge, but by the most constant duty and attendance in my power.

On the 2nd of August I set out for England; but before my departure, I waited on the queen for her commands; she told me she would write by me, and ordered me to attend next morning for her letter. Having received it and taken my leave, I desired to know, if it required haste? Her majesty said, no, for that it contained but little besides a particular recommendation of me to her son the king.

At London I met my mother and most of my relations, who were come up, as from all parts of England they did, to see the king, and was presented by the Duke of Ormond, then but marquis, to his majesty in the privy chamber at Whitehall, and delivering him the queen's letter, he asked me several questions, both concerning her and my voyage.

The court at Whitehall soon became very magnificent, the Duke of York having his court apart, and the Duke of Gloucester his. The kingdom was now very rich, and men were generally satisfied with the king's return though some malcontents of several sorts there were; and how should it be otherwise? But the king did not much adhere to business: All was calm and easy, he had a parliament ready to yield to any thing that was reasonable, as the acts they made sufficiently declare, and the Earl of Clarendon, then chancellor, was at the helm. The king, who was at an age and vigour for it, pursued his pleasures; and if love prevailed with him more than any other passion, he had this for excuse, besides that his complexion was of an amorous sort, the women seemed to be the aggressors; and I have since heard the king say that they would sometimes offer themselves to his embrace: nor were the two dukes, his brothers, more averse to the sex than his majesty.

*In Nov*ember, the king's aunt (the Queen of Bohemia)

came over from the Hague, as did also his sister, the Princess of Orange; but they both died soon after their arrival, as did also the Duke of Gloucester.

The queen mother often asked me if the king had done anything for me, and what it was I had fixed my mind on, that she might speak a word for me; but in truth I did not at that time pursue my own advantage as I might have done; and went to court rather to converse and look about me, than to solicit any favour: I chiefly relied on the queen's kindness to me and the influence she had over the king; but all the pleasing superstructure fell to the ground; the queen left England soon after the death of her children, taking the princess Henrietta away with her to Paris, and I was disappointed.

On the 6th of January, 1661, a small rebellion was raised in London by one Venner, which in its very rise was defeated by a party of the guards; but running out of town they rallied again in Cane-wood near Highgate. Having a mind therefore to see a little action, I mounted one of my coach-horses, and mounted my man upon the other, and joined Sir Thomas Sands, who commanded the party of the guards that went in pursuit of the incendiaries. Having searched the wood till midnight, we came to a little house, where the people told us they had been desiring some victuals but a little while before, and that they could not be far off. Accordingly, about an hour after this, we found some of them in the thickest part of the wood. They discharged their pieces at us, but the moon setting they got from us, and hurried back again to London, where they met with the fate every body knows. Their captain and about twenty more were hanged, drawn and quartered: about twenty of them were killed in their several skirmishes, and about as many of the king's men, one of which was shot not far from me in Cane-wood.

It was this summer that the Duke of York first took any particular notice of me. I happened to be in dis-

course with the French ambassador, and some other gentlemen of his nation, in the presence at Whitehall, and the duke joined us, he being a great lover of the French tongue, and kind to those who spoke it. The next night he talked with me a long while, as he was at supper with the king.

On the 19th of May, 1662, the king went to receive the Infanta of Portugal at Portsmouth, attended by the greatest court I ever saw in any progress. But though, upon this occasion, every thing was gay and splendid, and profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the king was not excessively charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman, with a pretty tolerable face; she, neither in person nor manners, had any one article to stand in competition with the charms of the Countess of Castlemain, (since Duchess of Cleveland) the finest woman of her age. It is well known that the lord chancellor had the blame of this unfruitful match, and that the queen was said to have a constant fluor upon her, which rendered her incapable of conception.

In the year 1664, the war broke out between us and the Dutch; and I resolved to serve as volunteer in our fleet, hoping to be on board the duke's own ship. I accordingly equipped myself with necessaries for the sea, and went to procure the king's leave to go on board, and to receive his commands to the duke, intending to be gone the next day. The king told me he was willing I should go, but had letters to write to the duke, which he would send by me, and ordered me to stay for them day after day (expecting, it seems, first to hear from the duke) till at last his majesty told me he should not write, and that I needed not now to go, for that the duke would be speedily on shore, he not having been able to bring the Dutch to action.

A dreadful plague raged in London, during the summer of 1665, which swept away 97,309 persons. It *was usual for* people to drop down in the streets as

they went about their business; and a story is reported for a certain truth, that a bag-piper being excessively overcome with liquor, fell down in the street and there lay asleep. In this condition he was taken up and thrown into a cart betimes the next morning, and carried away with some dead bodies. Meanwhile he awoke from his sleep, it being now about day-break, and rising up began to play a tune, which so surprized the fellows that drove the cart, who could see nothing distinctly, that in a fright they betook them to their heels, and would have it that they had taken up the devil in the disguise of a dead man.

But to resume other things, I married, and was thereby prevented from being an eye witness of the Dutch war; and so I shall only say that his highness obtained a glorious victory over that republic.

His royal highness the duke and his duchess came down to York, in August, where it was observed that Mr. Sydney, the handsomest youth of his time, and of the duke's bed chamber, was greatly in love with the duchess, and indeed he might well be excused, for the duchess, daughter to Chancellor Hide, was a very handsome personage, and a woman of fine wit. The duchess on her part seemed kind to him, but very innocently; but he had the misfortune to be banished the court afterwards for another reason, as was reported.

On the 5th of October I went to Oxford, to put the king in mind of a former promise, to make me high sheriff of the county of York, the year next ensuing; but hearing that Sir Francis Cob (who had been at some extraordinary charge in receiving and attending the court at York) obtained a grant to continue in that office for another year, at his highness's intercession I waited on the duke, acquainted him with my claim, and begged his assistance. He told me he wished he had known my claim in time, that he should have been

ready to serve me, and that I had nevertheless his leave to solicit his majesty's promise. I thanked him, but said I could not appear in any degree of opposition to his highness's interest and pleasure, and would therefore defer my pretensions to a better opportunity. This he took very kindly, went with me to the king, and presented me to him for the next year; his majesty gave me his hand to kiss, and his word once more, that I should be sheriff as I had desired.

A great and happy victory was obtained over the Dutch on the 25th of July, 1666, by Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle; and a sad and dismal fire laid the vast and noble city of London in ashes; but these being events that have been of late largely described already, I shall only observe of the latter, that the dreadful destruction was not more extraordinary than the speed, regularity, and cost wherewith it was retrieved, and a new London, far exceeding the old, erected.

I went to London on the 2d of October, to put the king and the duke in mind of their promise, that I should be high sheriff for the county of York for the year next ensuing; and no sooner did I appear before the duke than he said to me, "I remembered you "though you was not here, and your business is done "for you." And, to say the truth, there was no prince at that time observed to be more punctual to his word. I found what the duke told me to be prefectly true, the king did graciously confirm what he had said, and named me sheriff for the county of York, though I was not of the three presented to him by the judges.

The duke of Buckingham had been some time in disgrace at court; and being suspected of some evil practices against the king, on the 8th of March, 1667, a proclamation was issued out to apprehend him. I confess I was at a loss to know how to act in this matter, between the obligation of my office as sheriff, and

the respect I had for the duke: but the judges coming down to the assizes, advised me by all means to proclaim it, which I did, and it for ever after lessened me in the esteem of that lord.

My lord Southampton, lord high treasurer of England, being lately dead, the administration of that great office was transacted by four commissioners, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury, Sir William Coventry, secretary to the Duke of York, and Sir John Duncomb. It was now that the parliament fell upon the great Earl of Clarendon, who having surrendered the seals, a few months afterwards, as much as possible to avoid the heat of his enemies, retired privately into France. His greatest enemy in the house of lords was the Duke of Buckingham; in the house of commons, Sir Thomas Osborne, since Earl of Danby; by this step, and by the help of his grace the Duke of Buckingham, who was now absolute favourite, it was that Sir Thomas more especially rose to his height of dignity.

The Duke of Buckingham now acted as prime minister: the king consulted him chiefly in all concerns of moment; the foreign ministers were to apply to him, before they could be admitted to an audience. But he was such a foe to business, such a friend to pleasure, and so apt to turn the day into night, and the night into day, that he could neither attend regularly on the king, nor dispatch business, as it ought to be, with those who had any thing to negociate with him; so his ministry proved of no long duration.

In the spring of 1668, I carried my family up to town, where the court and city were all gay and jovial; for peace was now concluded with France, with Spain, with Denmark, and the States General. Ambassadors extraordinary were now sent and received with the greatest pomp and splendor.

On the 5th of April, 1669, the Prince of Tuscany

came to London, with a retinue and equipage suitable to his high quality, and was at first magnificently entertained by the king; but after some time, he kept house at his own expence, and had plenty of all the portable rarities for food and drink, Italy had to afford. I dined with him twice; he was very kind to me, as he was to all those who had travelled into Italy, and spoke the language. And this spring the Prince of Denmark was in London, the same who some years afterwards married the Princess Anne of England.

But all this jollity was turned into mourning for the death of the queen mother, who on the 10th of August departed this life at Paris: she was a great princess, and my very good mistress.

In the summer of 1670 the Duchess of Orleans, the king's sister, came over to Dover, where she was met by the king, the Duke of York, and the whole court. Here it was that she confirmed his highness the duke in the popish superstition, of which he had as yet been but barely suspected; and it is said to have been his grand argument, for such his adherence to those tenets, that his mother had, upon her last blessing, commanded him to be firm and steadfast thereto. Before this, it was thought he was rather a friend to the presbyterians; for not long before, a nonconformist minister being prosecuted at Pomfret, for preaching in a conventicle, it was reported that his highness, and the Duke of Buckingham, then principal minister of state, had written in his favour to the justices: but the duke as I was one day attending on him in St. James's Park, called me to him, and discoursing over the thing to me, declared what was reported to be a mistake, that he had not concerned himself at all with it, though he was so much a friend to that sort of people, that he could wish the law had not been put in execution against him, or to that effect, and that absolutely he did not write. *At the same time* he told me to represent him, upon

occasion, as no enemy to such. Hereupon I acquainted his highness, that there was a kinsman of mine, one Mr. Vincent, in town, who was a leading man in that party; his highness ordered me to bring him to court, which I did, and the duke took him aside, and talked with him a great while. It was generally believed that the duke, in this, acted the politician suitable to the time; for it was now rumoured about, the king would be divorced from his queen, which, by thus courting all parties, he proposed to prevent.

But however this was, our royal family lost another of its number; for the Duke of Orleans had for some time before been jealous of his wife, and, if all that is said be true, not without good ground: the Count de Guiche, it seems, had been a favourite with her, and now she is said to have fallen in love with the Duke of Monmouth, while she was at Dover; in short, things were so represented to the duke her husband, that she died very suddenly after her return to Paris, by poison as the report went.

The Prince of Orange came to London in October, to pay a visit to the king. The parliament being now met, pursuant to prorogation, it happened that Sir John Coventry, in a speech he made, reflected on the king's wenching; which being reported to the Duke of Monmouth, he ordered Sir Thomas Sands (an officer of the guards) and three or four more, to way-lay him as he went late home to his lodging; which they accordingly did, and, taking him out of his coach, slit his nose. But complaint thereof being made to the house, it caused such a heat, that thence proceeded the act against malicious maiming and wounding.

The Prince of Orange remained in England, and making his addresses to the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to the duke, the king entertained him with great splendor, as well on that account, as because of his relation to him, and great personal merit. One night

at a supper, given by the Duke of Buckingham, the king made him drink very hard: the prince was naturally averse to it, but being once entered, was more frolic and gay than the rest of the company; and now the mind took him to break the windows of the chambers belonging to the maids of honour, and he had got into their apartments, had they not been timely rescued. His mistress, I suppose did not like him the worse for such a notable indication of his vigour.

On the 31st of March, 1671, died Anne Duchess of York, with her last breath declaring herself a papist.

On the 31st of April, war was declared against the States General; and now the city of London had in a great measure recovered herself out of her ashes, and was so far rebuilt this year, that the king was on the Lord Mayor's day invited to dinner, which he accepted.

The king about this time issued out a proclamation for the indulgence of tender consciences, which caused great uneasiness, not only in the houses of parliament, where it was afterwards reversed, but throughout the whole kingdom; and was the most violent blow that had been given to the church of England from the day of the restoration. All sectaries now publicly repaired to their meetings and conventicles; nor could all the laws afterwards, and the most rigorous execution of them, ever suppress these separatists, or bring them to due conformity.

In the month of May, 1672, the French joined us against the Dutch, but in the end betrayed us. In the engagement, upon the 18th of that month, the French stood off, and left us and the Dutch to make the best we could of it; whereas if they had assisted his highness of York, who then commanded in chief as high admiral, we had doubtless obtained a signal victory; but as the case was, we had so much the better, that, after a fight *of eight hours, the* Dutch made sail from us. In this

engagement perished Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich, vice admiral.

It was this year that my Lord Halifax first came into business, and was sworn of the privy council. He was soon after, the 21st of July, joined in commission with the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, as ambassador to the states; but to no purpose; the war continued.

I had heard the king intended to erect a fort at Burlington, for the security of the colliers and others, trading to the northward; and I immediately applied to the Duke, entreating him to speak to the king that I might have the command of the intended place; who accordingly did: but whilst the thing was in agitation, his highness refused to take the oaths tendered to him as lord high admiral, thereby declaring himself a roman catholic, and resigning all his employments, so that nothing more was done in my business for that time.

And now the king having borrowed most of the ready money in the nation, of the goldsmiths, (at that time called bankers,) locked up the exchequer, to the bankruptcy of the most considerable of them, and the ruin of an infinite people, whose money they had borrowed at interest: and with this calamity we conclude this year.

On the 15th of August, 1673, my neighbour Sir Thomas Osborne rose to the great office of high treasurer of England, my Lord Clifford resigning his staff, and confessing himself a papist. The Duke of Buckingham was chiefly instrumental in bringing this about for Sir Thomas, by a bargain he made between Lord Clifford and him, namely, that Sir Thomas should officiate and give him half the salary, and afterwards prevailing on the king to confer the staff on Sir Thomas, then created Lord Viscount Dunblain, though afterwards Earl of Danby, and had a patent passing for marquis just as he fell into disgrace.

The war with the Dutch still continued, Prince Rupert being admiral for us, and the Count d'Estres for the French. Two victories were now obtained over them, but they were lessened by the loss of that great seaman Sir Edward Spraig.

The parliament of these days, had from the beginning, which was soon after the restoration, been perfectly well inclined to the king: they had given him a very great revenue upon tonnage and poundage, as also by an excise upon several sorts of liquors, hearth-money, not to mention temporary taxes, the whole amounting to above three times more than had been enjoyed by any king of England before. The country groaned under this pressure, and began to be dissatisfied; which having an influence on some gentlemen of both houses, gave birth to two parties, the one for the country, the other for the court. The former pretended in an impartial manner to espouse the cause of the people, in their liberties and properties, and whatever is dear to Englishmen; to assert the religion and government by law established: the latter pretended to the same, but thought the king was to have a competent income, and be invested with due power for the exercise of his regal office, without having too great a dependance on the people, a cause which had been of such pernicious effects to his royal father. Hence it was that gentlemen bestirred themselves more than usual to be elected into a seat in parliament; so that great was the competition between the candidates, and at great expences they were, even from one or two hundred, to two thousand pounds. But the concerns of the public were not what alone actuated all men; some wanted to be in the house to be screened from their debts, this parliament having sat a long while; and some had obtained great emoluments from the court to stand up for that interest; so that it is no wonder I had no less than five competitors when I offered myself for Audborough. And

not to drop this matter here, I must observe that Mr. Benson was the most formidable of the five; a man of no birth, but who from a clerk to a country attorney, had raised himself to be clerk of the peace at the Old Bailey, clerk of assizes of the northern circuit, as also to an estate of two thousand five hundred pounds, though not without some reflections on his way of getting it. The election was irregularly carried on in favour of this gentleman, and in January, 1674, I moved the house to determine the merit of the return; but before the hearing came on, a prorogation intervened, so that I had the charge of bringing up witnesses, to no manner of purpose.

Towards the latter end of this year the duke declared his marriage with Mary, daughter to the Duke of Modena, not long before arrived with the duchess, her mother. The nation was much grieved at this match, the lady being a papist of the strictest class, and the whole affair managed by the French interest.

In January, 1774, the Duke of Buckingham was again in disgrace, for which he was indebted to the Duchess of Portsmouth, a French lady, and now the most absolute of all the king's mistresses; a very fine woman she was, but most think she was sent on purpose to ensnare the king, who most readily ran into toils of that sort. His grace in vain made use of the mediation of the lord treasurer: and to say the truth, his lordship was not altogether so zealous for his grace as he ought to have been, especially if we consider that it was to him he owed the white staff he bore. In short, the duke was not the only person that accused him of ingratitude.

The king was at this time particularly displeased with his grace, for that being summoned by the house of commons to give an account of some malversations when he was minister he did not only appear, being a peer, and that without the king's leave, but to excuse

himself reflected on others, and upon the whole, behaved in that assembly in too mean and submissive a manner; which however was of no avail to him against the commons, who addressed the king to lay him aside with regard to all offices of trust or profit. His grace was also called to the bar of the house of peers, for scandalously living with the Lady Shrewsbury as man and wife, he being a married man, and for having killed my Lord Shrewsbury after he had debauched his wife.

The king prorogued the parliament to the 13th of April 1775.

The time of the meeting of parliament now drawing on, I repaired to London, and petitioned the committee of privileges and elections; and after all endeavours to the contrary, I was voted the sitting member, and conducted into the house by Lord Russell and Lord Cavendish.

Being thus received into the house, I found the two parties in great extremes against each other. The court side was very pressing and urgent for money for the king's present occasions; the country party thought of nothing less, except some laws were enacted for the better security of the protestant religion, and the grand point of property. But the two were so equal that nothing more than words passed between them; mere words without any effect, for neither dared stand the chance of a question put. In the midst of this, on the 15th of May, Doctor Shirley prefers a petition to the house of lords against Sir John Fag, a member of the lower house, to appear and answer in a case he had brought before the lords, and a summons was sent to Sir John accordingly; which the commons considering as a breach of privilege, great heats arose among them, and high expressions being, upon this occasion, mutually vented against each other by both houses, the king thought fit to adjourn their time of sitting for the *present.*

They no sooner sat again in October, than my competitor, Benson, and another, Mr. Long, petitioned against me. They would have had a short day, but it was my business to get as long a one as I could, and I accordingly did so. In short, the business of the house was of such consequence, that the prorogation came on before our cause could be heard. I took a particular account of what was transacted this session, the most extraordinary particulars of which were summarily these.

The king had in his speech acquainted us, that he was four millions in debt, exclusive of what he owed to the goldsmiths or bankers, a vast sum more, for which he paid neither principal nor interest, to the ruin of many families. It being upon this, put to the vote, whether money should be given or not—it was carried in the negative by four voices, and that, when near four hundred members were in the house. But it appeared that both the Dutch and French exceeded us in the proportion and number of their shipping, a sum of three thousand pounds was voted to the king for the building of twenty ships, namely, one of the first rate, five of the second, and fourteen of the third.

Several ways were debated for the raising of this sum, as upon land, upon the Jews, by way of poll, or upon French commodities, and lastly, upon our own consumption, and upon merchandise. At length it was to be levied upon land, and paid in eighteen months; to be lodged apart in the exchequer, and appropriated to that particular use, with very severe penalties upon the officers that should apply it to any other: but the sum itself, the time it was to be raised in, and other circumstances, were by no means grateful to the court. It was farther voted that the customs having been formerly given to the king for the maintenance of the fleet, a clause to that effect and purpose should be inserted in this bill, or a new one prepared to confirm it.

The state of the fleet was now given in, whereby it appeared that we had no more than eight first rates, nine second rates, and forty-three third rates; while the French exceeded us in the number of these rates by six and twenty, and the Dutch by fourteen.

It was, moreover, voted that the atheism, debauchery, and impiety of the present age be inserted, as grievances to be redressed: and it being violently suspected that some members of that house did receive gratuities from the court to vote on that side, it was put that a committee should be appointed to form a kind of oath or test, to discover what sums of money and offices had been given to parliament men to gain their interest.

The French trade also was complained of, as being thirteen hundred thousand pounds an overbalance for ours; and upon the matter it appeared, that every thousand pounds a-year had since the Restoration paid a hundred pounds in taxes to the crown.

It was also voted a grievance, that justices of the peace should be summoned to appear before the council, to account for what they did in their judicial capacity.

In November, the business of Luzance took up some time in the house. This Luzance was a French jesuit, but becoming a convert to the church of England, inveighed against the fallacies of the church of Rome, in a sermon he preached in a French church in the Savoy. This alarmed the papists, and particularly one Doctor Burnet, a jesuit, and confessor to the Duchess of York, who finding him alone in his chamber, and posting three men at the door, threatened to murder him if he did not make satisfaction for the injury, eat his words, and speedily return to France. The man in this desperate dilemma promised faithfully whatever was required of him, till he got his liberty, when presently going to Doctor Breval, a converted jesuit as well as himself, he told him the whole story; Breval *the next day acquainted* me with it, and I communicated

it to the house. The commons took fire at this, and straight appointed a Committee to examine into the matter, and ordered me to produce Luzance the next day. He appeared accordingly, and averred the thing for a truth. This was the first time I presumed to speak in that great assembly, or in any committee; but the next day I was obliged to do it several times in what concerned this violent business.

Upon the report made from the committee to the house, my Lord Cavendish called me to give an account of some other things I had had from Luzance. One was, that two French protestants, being merchants of great substance and credit, had been threatened by certain papists, that if they were not less severe upon the romanists, they should ere long see the protestant blood flow in London streets. A committee was appointed to enquire into the truth of this matter; and Luzance being summoned, gave evidence to the very self same effect, and gave it under his own hand. The parties he had his information from being sent for, appeared also, and declared such threats to have been used towards them by some French papists; but, to what cause it is owing is uncertain, they gave in only such names as were of persons either absent, or of no estimation; so that little came of this business. But these and other such informations, concerning the height and insolence of the papists, did so exasperate the house, that many motions were made to humble them. Some were for a speedy confinement of them to the country, others for banishment, and some again for disarming them, and the like.

In a short time after, the matter of Doctor Shirley's petition to the lords against Sir John Fag, was again renewed, though it had broke up the parliament the last time. There were those who thought the king had consented to it, disliking the warm proceedings of both houses: while others were of opinion that the lords of

the country interest had persuaded the doctor thereto, with a view thereby to kindle such a flame between the two houses, that the king should be obliged either to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve them: the said lords apprehending that if this parliament should sit much longer, the majority might be gained over by money and places, so as to become quite obsequious to the court; and this my Lord Halifax (then in the interest of Lord Shaftsbury, his uncle, who was upon ill terms with the court, being no longer lord chancellor) told me was his opinion.

But whatever the cause was, the effect was such that the commons refusing to let their members plead at the bar of the lords during a time of privilege, it was resolved that the lords, by receiving an appeal from any court, either of law, or equity, against a member of the lower house, during a session of parliament, were thereby infringers of the privileges of the commons of England; and that such lawyers as should attend as counsel to plead in any such cause at the lords' bar, should be deemed as betrayers of the rights of the commons of England; and that the said vote be affixed to the door of the house of commons, Westminster-Hall, and the inns of court; which was accordingly done: And the same day it was voted by the lords, that the same was illegal and unparliamentary, and tended to the dissolution of the government: and upon the whole, that they would not recede from their right of judicature by appeals from the courts of equity.

It was then put to the question, if the king should not be petitioned to dissolve this parliament, and it was carried in the negative by no more than two votes.

This misunderstanding between the houses was very dissatisfactory to the king. The lords who had voted for the dissolution of this parliament, entered their *protest in* the journal of their house, together with

their reasons for so doing; so that things being at this pass, the only expedient left, was to dismiss the parliament, which the king did, by prorogation, to the 10th of February next.

Before I left London, I, at the interposition of my Lord Ogle, went with his lordship to see the Duke of Buckingham, being well assured that I should be kindly received.

I had a fine black of about sixteen years of age, presented to me by a gentleman who brought him over from Barbadoes: This black lived with me some years, and died on the 20th of October, 1676, of an imposthume in his head. Six weeks after he was buried, I received an account, that at London it was credibly reported I had caused him to be gelt, and that the operation had killed him. I laughed at it at first, conscious it was a falsehood, and a ridiculous story, till being further informed that it came from the Duke of Norfolk and his family, with whom I had some differences at law, and that he had waited upon the king to beg my estate, if it became a forfeiture by this felony; I thought it convenient to send for the coroner to view the body with a jury, before it was too far decayed, that a rottenness of the part might not be imputed to incision. The coroner accordingly summoned a jury, and does his office; but when they came to uncover the breast, it was so putrified they would go no further; so that upon the examination of eleven witnesses, some that laid him out, and some that saw him naked, several, because of his colour, having a curiosity to see him after he was dead, they gave their verdict, that he died *Ex visitatione Dei*, by the hand of God.

This, however, was not thought sufficient; for within a few days after, there came one Bright, a lawyer, one Chappel, an attorney, (both concerned in the duke's affairs,) and one Buck, a surgeon, of Sheffield, whom I caused to be prosecuted not long before for having two

wives, together with some others, with my lord chief justice's warrant, directed to the coroner to take up the body; which the coroner refused to obey, saying, he had done his office already. These ambassadors, however, took up the body, and Buck, under pretence of viewing the part the better, would have taken it up with a pen-knife, but it was not suffered, lest by that instrument he should give the wound he sought for: But what was not only a mercy, but a miracle also, the part proved to be perfectly sound and entire, though the body had been so long under ground, and the rest of it was much putrified and decayed; so that shame of face and confusion came pretty plentifully upon the actors in this extraordinary scene.

A black and most ridiculous piece of malice this; for had their suggestion been proved a fact, all their art could never have so fixed it, as to have endangered either my person or estate. My lord chief justice Rainsford acted irregularly and illegally in this business, his information not being given in to him upon oath. And indeed, he afterwards confessed he was misled into it, and that the duke's solicitor was most pressing and urgent with him, to grant the warrant.—The Duke of York told my brother, he wondered such a stir was made about a report which must certainly be a flat falsehood: And Lord Ogle acquainted me, as did also my lord treasurer himself afterwards, that he, meaning the treasurer, had taken great pains to prevent the begging of my estate; and I believed it to be true, but shrewdly doubt it was with design, had it proved a forfeiture, to have secured it to himself; I was told as much afterwards. I endeavoured however to reach the bottom of this plot, and to procure myself some reparation, as may be observed hereafter.

Having kept my Christmas in the country, I no sooner returned to London in the February following, than my lord treasurer sent to speak with me. I waited

on him therefore, and found him very open in his discourse upon several subjects, but for the most part lamenting that his countrymen would not allow him an opportunity to be of service to them with the king, and making many protestations that the jealousies of those who called themselves of the country party, were entirely groundless and without foundation: that to his certain knowledge, the king meant no other than to preserve the religion and government by law established; and, upon the whole, wished that neither himself or his posterity might prosper, if he did not speak what he really believed: that if the government was in any danger, it was most from these who pretended such a mighty zeal for it; but who under that pretence were endeavouring to create such discontents between the king and the nation, as might produce confusion in the end; and intreated me to be careful how I embarked myself with that sort of people. My reply was, that I hoped I was not one to be wilfully misled; that I should have no rule to go by in that house but my reason and conscience, and that so I could be of no particular faction or party: that as much as I yet understood of the duty of a member of the house of commons at this time, suggested to me a moderation between the two extremes, and to have an equal regard for the prerogative of the king and the liberty of the subject.

True it is, till now, that the treasurer used such solemn asseverations, with regard to the king's good intention, and pretty clearly convinced me that some of the chiefs of the country party had most at heart their own private interest, whatever they asserted in favour and defence of the public, I had great notions of the truth and sincerity of the country party.

The parliament meeting on the 15th of February, the king particularly desired a considerable sum for the building and rigging of ships. The country did every

thing possible to stint the sum to four hundred thousand pounds; while the courtiers were for a million, or eight hundred thousand pounds at the least; but the moderate men stept in between with an offer of six hundred thousand pounds, which sum was granted, and for this I gave my vote, a sum intended for the building of thirty men of war of several rates.—My lord treasurer took it so kindly that I sided not with those, who did all they could to weaken and distress the crown, that he would needs carry me to kiss his majesty's hand, which I had not yet done since I came to town; and presented me in the lobby of the house of lords, next to the prince's lodgings, nobody being present but his majesty, his lordship, and myself. He said much more of me to the king than I deserved, but lastly, that as my family had been always loyal, he knew I was perfectly inclined to tread in their footsteps; and that the best way to confirm me in such my disposition, would be to let me understand how little of truth there was in the pretences set on foot to deceive gentlemen, and withdraw them from their duty. "The king said he "had known me long, and hoped I knew him so well as "to give no ear to such reports of him. I know, says "he, it is said I aim at the subversion of the govern- "ment and religion: that I intend to lay aside parlia- "ments, and to raise money another way; but every "man, nay those who insist the most thereon, knows "the thing in all its circumstances, to be false. There "is not a subject that lives under me, whose safety and "welfare I desire less than my own: and I should be as "sorry to invade his liberty and property, as that "another should invade mine. Those members, con- "tinued the king, who boast this mighty friendship "for the public, are of two sorts, either those who "would actually and irretrievably subvert the govern- "ment, and reduce it to a commonwealth once more; "*or else those* who seem only to join with the former,

"and talk loud against the court, purely in hopes to "have their mouths stopped with places or preferments." And to say the truth, the treasurer had named some of the chiefs to me, who had desired so and so of the king, and upon such conditions promised to come over.

I made answer to the king, that indeed the pretences were many, and, to some, I believed, plausible, that were raised in opposition to what others understood to be for his majesty's interest: but that they had gained but little on me, who had had the honour of being so long known to his majesty, and had been so lately confirmed in my belief by assurances from my lord treasurer: that to the best of my knowledge I should never do any thing that became not a true and faithful subject, or should be inconsistent with the prosperity of his majesty's royal person and government. The king said he was very well pleased that he had seen me, commanded me to wait on him sometimes, and told me I should have access to him when and wherever I desired it.

The condescension of the king, in giving this satisfaction to so mean a person, convinced me very much of the truth of what he said, as did also his natural temper and constitution; for he was not an active, busy, or ambitious prince, but perfectly a friend to ease, and fond of pleasure; he seemed to be chiefly desirous of peace and quiet for his own time.

At this time a great dispute arising between the lord marshal of England, Lord Henry Howard, (though commonly called Duke of Norfolk) and his younger brothers, they not only petitioned the house of commons in behalf of themselves, but also of their eldest brother the duke, whom the said lord marshal kept up at Padua as a lunatic, though perfectly in possession of his senses, praying that the house would be pleased to move the king to oblige the marshal to send for him into England. Upon this a debate arose in the house,

every one delivering his mind according to his belief, or prejudices; till at length the gentlemen of the house who had been at Padua, were desired to give their opinions as to the state and condition of the duke. Upon this occasion I declared that at the time I saw him, he laboured under all the symptoms of lunacy and distraction. This being carried to the lord marshal, who was very conscious I was indebted to him for no obligation, he sent a gentleman to me the next day to thank me for my generosity to a person who had not seemed to have been so much my friend as he ought to have been, and touching obliquely on the affair of the blackamoor, he said he intended to wait on me to give me some farther satisfaction as to that.

My answer to this message was, that I was surprised at the compliment from a gentleman to whom I intended none, what I had said having been with a due regard to truth: that however I was not sorry I had happened to oblige his lordship by it; and that since he had denied all concern in the iniquitous affair of my dead servant, I would prevent his lordship, and wait on him myself; as I did two or three days afterwards. He received me with all the civility and kindness imaginable, and wished that neither himself or posterity might prosper, if he was any way aiding or assisting in the plot laid against me. I told his lordship, that I could not but add faith to his words; but that if he was not, I was well assured his servants were; and therefore desired he would give me leave to use my best endeavours to find it out: with all his heart he said, he did not only consent to it, but would moreover assist me in the inquiry; and so, with all possible demonstrations of friendship we parted.

I very often visited and dined with my lord treasurer, and often waited on the king, who, when he saw me, would ask me how things went forward; and particularly, on the 18th of March, I entertained him a long

while, in the Duchess of York's bed-chamber with what had then been transacting in the house of commons.

This session had gone on smoothly and sedately enough, in both houses, my lord treasurer having so ordered it, that the king's party increased rather than the other, but it was much feared that some votes were obtained more by purchase than affection; and with this we close up the year.

On the 29th of March, 1677, the commons voted a second address to the king, that he would be pleased to contract alliances for the preservation of Flanders in the hands of the King of Spain; but with this restriction, that his majesty should not be obliged to return any answer to the house, upon the subject of the said address; though a number who would have drawn him into inconveniences, would have had him urged to declare his intentions therein; by which he must have either disobliged the nation on the one hand, or on the other have declared war with France, before he was prepared to prosecute it.

The king and the duke had both of them much interested themselves in the affair of my election, which being to be tried on the 12th of April, his majesty gave orders to his servants that were of the house, to attend the committee, and assist me with their best services when it came on. The same day the Duke of Albemarle came down to engage his friends to be for me, nor did the Duke of York forget to concern himself very earnestly in my behalf.

The same day being alone with the lord treasurer, in his coach as he was going to Westminster, I told him that some of the discontented had resolved to hasten the money-bill as fast as might be, that so the house might rise before Easter, and the public bills, that were preparing, be left unpassed; hoping thereby to incense the nation, and bring about a cause of complaint against the king, as if he called the parliament together for

nothing but to get money from them. His lordship answered, that the king, well aware of the design, would prevent it by a message, that day to be delivered to the house by Mr. Secretary Coventry, to this effect, that if ought remained undone, which the house judged necessary to be done for the good of the nation, the king would allow them a sufficient time after Easter, and that when they were ready, his majesty would pass their bills; a message that was accordingly delivered.

My lord treasurer sent for me among others, desiring us to assist what we could, towards the reconciliation of a difference likely to take place between the two houses, about framing the bill for the six hundred thousand pounds, to be given to the king, which might endanger the loss of the same: for the commons had made a clause therein, enjoining the officers of the exchequer to give them an account of the disbursement and distribution of the said sum; while the lords had asserted they should be accountable to both houses. This the commons would not suffer, alleging the lords could neither add to nor take away from a money-bill; for that as it was peculiar to them only to give money, it was to them only that account was to be given how it was applied. The lords to this replied, that to deny them the power of calling the officers of the exchequer to a reckoning, was to abridge them of the privilege of judicature they undoubtedly had as the supreme court; and by way of precedent observed, that when the convention gave money for the disbanding of the army, an account of the same was ordered to be laid before their house as well as the other. They both adhered tenaciously to their point, till the king at length prevailed with the lords to erase their clause; and so the commons got the better of the day.

It was not long before this, that the king of France, having obtained a victory over the Prince of Orange, *did in his* return by Calais send over the Duke of

Croquy, and the Archbishop of Rheims, to pay a compliment to our king, who returned it by my Lord Sunderland. This gave just cause to think there would be no war between the two kings, contrary to what the parliament had so earnestly advised. I saw a copy of the letter these ambassadors brought with them; beginning with this style or title, *Tres haut, tres excellent & tres puissent Prince, tres cher tres aimé bon frére cousin & allié:* And in truth our king's neutrality deserved all this from France, and much more.

Not long after, on the 12th of May, having an opportunity of a private conversation with the treasurer, I complained to him of the injustice done me in the foolish story of my black's castration, as also of the king's readiness to grant away my estate. He said he did not believe the king had given it, for that he had begged of him not to be too hasty in that particular, believing the report to be a malicious lie: but that he was of opinion with me, that now was a fit time to ask his majesty for something by way of reparation, and that he would assist me therein. His lordship was upon this occasion so open with me as to tell me, that though the king denied scarce anything to the duke, his brother, he certainly did not love him at his heart.

He told me also that the king had no mind to fall out with France; and that if the parliament would effectually engage him in that war, their way would be to furnish him with sums of money to prepare for it, and that no less than six hundred thousand pounds would be absolutely necessary for that purpose. That if the king accepted of this, he would be obliged to carry on the war; but that if the parliament would not trust him, he was in the right not to embark himself, and might justly argue, "How can I depend on my parliament to furnish me with regular and equal supplies to carry on a war, which they will not so much as enable me to prepare for?" But I easily saw through

this; I plainly perceived it was all artifice to get the fingering of money.

He moreover said, that the king could not in honour join the confederates against France: that in all the treaties the King of England had been mentioned as principal in the war: that in the beginning he did actually join with France, and that for him now to turn his arms against that crown, would look neither just nor honourable in the eye of the world. This his lordship told me was the king's own way of arguing whenever war happened to be the subject of their discourse together; but that his answer to his majesty was, that he needed not be so regardful of that transaction, the French king having played him the very same trick when Chancellor Hyde was chief minister. To this he replied, that the French king had a pique against the lord chancellor: to which the treasurer subjoined, that whatever was the cause, the thing was as he had said.

He was so free also as to tell me still further, that the duke was the grand promoter of the French interest, and that he now made his court to the sectaries and fanatics, only to give strength and vigour to the popish interest: that his highness was so very a bigot, that though the Archbishop of Rheims made no scruple to go into our churches, and even kneel down during the time of divine service, the duke at the same time could not be prevailed on so much as to step within the doors. He observed that the duke was particularly unhappy in his servants, a senseless pack; but that indeed his confessor was a notable man, and one that had a great influence over him; being as well as his master averse to a war with France. His lordship however declared himself for it.

The next day I went to visit the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, at their fine house at Ham. After *dinner, her grace* entertained me in her chamber with

much discourse upon affairs of state. She had been a beautiful woman, the supposed mistress of Oliver Cromwell, and at that time a lady of great parts. Both her grace and the duke her husband, were entirely in the treasurer's interest. Her chief complaint was, that the duke so adhered to papists and fanatics, and so put the king upon changing the deputies of Ireland, and all purely for the subservience of the Romish interest; and in short, let me into the secret of many things I had never so much as heard of before; and particularly acquainted me with the state and bent of Scotland, which, as her husband was lord commissioner, she was well able to do.

The day after I went to ask Mr. Secretary Williamson, if any entry had been made in his office concerning my estate? He answered he durst only own it to me in private, but that upon some rumour of a forfeiture, by some act of mine, it was true that Mr. Felton, of the bed-chamber, had begged it of the king, and entered a caveat thereof at his office.

Upon this I prevailed with my lord treasurer to go with me to the king, of whom I begged two things, namely, that he would be pleased to order Mr. Secretary Williamson to erase a caveat that had been entered with him, upon his majesty's granting away my estate to Mr. Felton, reputed to be forfeited by my pretended felonious practices with the blackamoor that died in my service: and that also he would be pleased to lay his commands upon my Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, to discover to me at whose solicitation, or upon what suggestion it was his lordship issued out his warrant to the coroner to take up the body after it had been so long interred.

To the first the king answered, he did not remember any grant he had made of my estate to any person whatsoever, but that if any such caveat was entered, he would see that it was expunged. As for the second,

he directed my lord treasurer to send one with me to my lord chief justice, as from him, to do as I had desired; which his lordship did the next day by his secretary. When we came to him, he told us the whole matter, and begged I would excuse him for having been so very forward in that affair; and indeed he had good reason so to do, having done more than he could justify; for he had granted his warrant upon a bare suggestion, that the moor had died by such an act, without taking any information either in writing or upon oath.

The parliament met at Westminster, on the 21st of May, pursuant to adjournment; and the king, in his speech, told the house, he could not make such alliances as they desired, except they gave him money, to make preparations for war. The commons did not approve of this, and voted that no money should be raised, till the king had first entered into a league offensive and defensive with Holland, and the rest of the United Provinces, for the safety of these kingdoms, and the recovery of Flanders, and to abate the power of the French king.

On the 17th of the same month, in answer to this, the King said, they had exceeded the bounds and methods of parliament, that they entrenched on his prerogative by not only directing him to make alliances, but by pointing out to him what those alliances should be, and with whom to be made; that the power of making peace or war resided wholly in himself, and that if they took that from him, he should have nothing left but the empty name of king, and no more, and that in such case, no prince or state would enter into engagements with him: upon the whole, he rejected the address, but would use such means as became him for the preservation of his kingdoms; adjourning them to the 16th day of July following.

In the mean time, having heard that my Lord *Yarmouth was one* that had begged my estate, upon

the occasion of the death of my black, and understanding that his lordship was come to town, I presently waited on him at his house, and being with some difficulty admitted (for I had never seen him) asked him if the thing was true? Whereupon he bitterly swore he never asked it from the king, and that he never knew any thing of it, farther than that one Wright, solicitor to the Lord Henry Howard, did come and acquaint him that there was likely to be such a forfeiture, and advised him to use his interest with the king for it; but that he absolutely gave no ear to the proposal, saying,—"He would never be the richer for the misfortunes of others"—that he believed it was pure malice against me, and that he would serve me all he could to find out the authors of it. In short, I got from under his hand, that he was neither directly or indirectly concerned in begging my estate.

The very same day I found out Mr. Wright, and threatened to bring my action of scandal against him, upon the information I had received from my Lord Yarmouth, if he did not let me into the whole intrigue. He then ingeniously confessed, that both Bright and Chappel before mentioned, had given him an account of the moor's death, with all the circumstances of his pretended castration, and with all assurance of the truth of what they said; and that he telling the story to Lord Henry Howard, his lordship sent him to Lord Yarmouth, advised him to beg my estate of the king, and that he begged it accordingly. I was now much surprised that two noblemen should make their honour so cheap, and deny a real fact with such oaths and asseverations; but considering with myself that to make more stir in the thing, would be only to make a great deal of noise about a very foolish story, I contented myself with this satisfaction, that as a sign of their shame and repentance, they had both given themselves the lie.

On the 19th of October, a marriage was agreed on between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, first daughter to his royal highness, to the great joy of the nation; for his highness being a protestant prince, this match in a great measure expelled the fears that the majority had conceived concerning popery. Lord Danby, the treasurer, was believed to have promoted this alliance, and got good reputation by it.

On the 26th, the parliament, which was to have met upon the 3d of December, was by proclamation prorogued to the 4th of April; but nevertheless, the public business required it, the day was shortened, and they were to meet on the 10th of January, but when the time came, they were adjourned for fifteen days.

On the 2d of November, I dined with my lord treasurer, who received me very kindly; and the next day I kissed the king's hand, and the duke's. His highness, among other things, told me the reason of this short adjournment was because the king could not so fully acquaint both houses why they were called together at this time, till he had a more perfect account of a treaty now upon the carpet with Spain; and after some other discourse of public concern, I gave him some assurances of duty and respect, which by a former, though false, report, he had some reason to doubt of.

The parliament met, and the king, in his speech, informed them, that he was entered in a strict alliance with the Prince of Orange, and the United Provinces, to oppose the French king, and the progress of his arms in Flanders; and desired he might have money to enable him to fulfil his engagements.

On the 21st of November, the commons voted an address of thanks to the king, for the care he had taken of the protestant religion, in marrying his niece to the Prince of Orange; but observed they could grant no supplies for the war, if his majesty and his allies would

not engage to lay down their arms, till the treaty of the Pyrenees was performed, and till the French king was reduced to the condition he then was in; for that without this, neither this kingdom, nor the rest of Christendom was safe.

On the 30th they voted the sum of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised for the royal interment of King Charles the Martyr, and for erecting a monument to his memory.

Supping this night with my lord treasurer, he told me he fully had intended to solicit the king to do something for me; but, if he had really meant it, I knew he might have done it long before then.

On the 4th of February, 1677, the king sent us an answer to our address, and therefore pressed us to raise money to carry on the war; and to prevail on us the more effectually, he acquainted us with the alliances he had made; which so wrought upon the house, that the question being put, it was carried by two and forty voices, to assist his majesty in the war, and to consider of the way to do it; but it being late, the debate was put off till the next morning.

The next morning I waited on the Duke of York, and had a great deal of discourse with him concerning this matter; and being the night before with my lord treasurer, the scheme was laid how to proceed the next day.

Great debates had arisen upon this affair, and the reason of the violent opposition it met with, was a desire in some to oppose the crown, though in the very thing they themselves wished for, the nation being ever desirous of a war with France; and a jealousy in others, that the king indeed intended to raise an army, but never designed to go on with the war, and, to say the truth, some of the king's own party were not very sure of the contrary. However, the commons soon after voted money for the raising six and twenty regiments

of foot, four of horse, and two of dragoons, together with a navy of ninety men of war, for a war with France.

A few days afterwards, I acquainted the king and the duke with some of the transactions of the house, and of the doubts some had there expressed concerning the ratification of the peace betwixt us and Holland. To which the king replied, "that the league "offensive and defensive was actually signed by the "states, so that they could not now recede, but "that the ratification was not yet sealed, the several "provinces having not yet confirmed the act of "their deputies, and of the council of eight who had "received it."

The great business of granting an aid to the king came on debate in the house on the 18th, where it was thoroughly controverted, and many difficulties were started, and many mistrusts of the king. Among others, I spoke and attempted to shew the necessity there was for a trust at this time, and how impossible it was (though some ground might appear for it) to recede at this hour of the day.

The next day the commons voted a million, to enable the king to make war with France, for the preservation of Flanders.

We had at this time news that the French had taken Ghent and Bruges, and that Ostend was besieged; whereupon the king caused sixteen hundred men to be immediately drawn out of his guards and other forces here, and sent them to Ostend, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth; in short, this news quite alarmed Flanders, Holland and England. The commons particularly concerned themselves therein, and now grown warm, they begin to reflect on the king's ill councils, that had not advised him to a war before. No man was named, but they plainly pointed at the Duke *of York, and the* lord treasurer.

Attending the king's levee on the 28th, his majesty told me and some other members then present, "that "except the money voted was speedily raised, it would "come after the French king had done his work." His highness also told me the same morning, that his friends would have a hard task of it that day, he being informed that some of the house had resolved to renew the debate concerning ill councillors; but I assured him it was not likely, having but the day before heard a leader of the anticourt party say, it was no time to raise disputes at home, now that we were in such a way of being embroiled abroad; and it proved even as I had said.

But after all, news came on the 2d of March, that Ghent and Bruges had not been taken, as had been reported; and moreover, that Mons. Rouvigny was coming over, on the part of France, with tenders of peace. The parliament started at this, and grew jealous the offers would be accepted; but still our forces marched onwards, in their way to Ostend; and two days afterwards the bill for raising money, by way of poll, was perfected, when the king and the duke talked much of a war, though still it was suspected their hearts were more inclined for peace.

On the 10th, his highness told me, he was informed of a design in the house of commons, to fall upon him and my lord treasurer, and desired me to oppose it. My lord treasurer assured me of the same thing, and that it was to be done that very day. That, among other articles, they laid to his charge a treaty between the king and the Prince of Orange; but that in reality there was no such treaty; and had it been, he did not think it had been disadvantageous to England. Another of his crimes, he said, would be for advising the king to make a peace which he never did; though it was not impossible but such a design there might be; but that if so it were, it proceeded from nothing but

the king's own judgment, who was that way very much bent, if lawful it were to say.

On the 14th several speeches were made in the house, full fraught of jealousies and fears, and particularly with regard to the army at this time levying; as if it rather intended to erect absolute monarchy at home, than infest the enemy abroad. Complaints were made of evil council, and of the councillors, but still no body was named. A long debate it proved, and in the end produced an address to the king, that before they proceeded to give any more money, his majesty would be pleased to declare war with France, and withdraw his ambassador from that court. It was also stiffly contended, that a part of this address should be to intreat the king to put away those evil councillors from about him, who had advised him to adjourn the parliament in May last, and prevented a war with France all this time; but this being put to the question, it was carried in the negative by five votes only.

The commons then resolved, that a day should be appointed to consider of the state of the kingdom with regard to popery: and three days afterwards my lord treasurer sent for several members of the house, and me among others, to the treasury chamber. His lordship there told us, it became all good subjects to withstand all such motions and proceedings, which tended only to perplex the minds of men, and disturb the public tranquillity; in short, to raise jealousies against the government. The duke also, among other things, told me, it would do to disarm all popish recusants, which he seemed to think a ridiculous thing; and here we put a period to this year.

At this time, many well meaning men began to fear the army now raised, was rather intended to awe our own kingdom, than to war against France, as had at first been suggested; and it being put to the question, *on the 8th of May*, 1678, whether an address should

be made to the king, for laying aside Duke Lauderdale, of the kingdom of Scotland, it was carried in the negative by one vote only.

The question was put again, and carried, that such councillors as had advised the king to make such answers to the late addresses from his parliament, being betrayers of the king and kingdom, or to that effect, an address should be humbly presented to his majesty, to lay them aside from his councils, and remove them from their other employments. This address was accordingly presented on the 10th, and his majesty's answer was this, that they were so extravagant in the contents of it, that he was not willing to make such reply to it as it deserved. Lauderdale was particularly named. And the same day it was carried, though but by one voice in a full house, that the king's message lately sent to them to consider of some means for a supply to his majesty, for paying off his fleet, should not be observed.

On the 13th, the king understanding the tide of their proceedings to run so very high, prorogued them to the 23d of the same month, which put a stop to their further proceedings.

It was, at this time, generally believed that peace was concluded between us, the confederates, and the King of France. We blamed the states for their ready compliance; the states blamed the Spaniard who was full of his offers, while he had neither men, arms, or money in Flanders to defend it; and they both fell upon the parliament of England, who when they should have given money, and made other preparations for the war, were wasting their time in quarrelling at home with the government, and with each other.

The parliament met on the 23d, pursuant to adjournment, when the king spoke to them a little more briskly than usual. He told them, a peace was near upon conclusion between France and the confederates, at

which they were extremely concerned. This peace with France, when there was like to be so strong a union combined to reduce that proud and potent king to a better sense of himself, was very ungrateful news to England; and therefore the king, to throw the blame of it upon the commons, told us, in his speech, it was owing to their refusal of money, till something was done for the security of their religion; their negligence to direct or advise him concerning the intended war, or to assist him till he had changed councillors, and consequently the little hopes the confederates could have of help from him; that this, together with the low condition of Spain, had prompted them to lend an ear to the offers of peace; not to speak of the sluggish motion of the Germans, the difficulty of getting them together, their princes being influenced by such discordant views and interests, and the present poverty of the states general, all which had contributed towards the cessation of the war.

But still our king was chiefly condemned in this great affair, as he so long deferred to engage in this alliance; which, had he sooner done, the French king had never dared to persist in the war; at least he could not have made so great a progress in Flanders, or have been able to make so good a market for himself, as he did by this peace.

To this our king made answer, he could not have believed the French king would have been able to weather out a war so well as he did, though in a manner against all Europe, himself and the King of Sweden only excepted, who sat neuters: and that in case this number of enemies had humbled that kingdom, England might well have been satisfied with the having been an unconcerned looker-on, while she engrossed all the commerce of Europe, and might in the end have reaped an equal share of advantage with even the labourers *themselves, who* had been at all the pains and expence.

On the 4th of June the commons voted two hundred thousand pounds, to be given for disbanding the army; but under great restrictions, fearing the king might take the money, and convert it to other uses. Wherefore great penalties were levelled against the officers of the exchequer, and others, through whose hands it was to pass, to prevent their diverting it from its right channel, and this done, the money was cheerfully given, the nation, and its representatives, dreading nothing so much, at that time, as a standing army.

On the 22d there was fresh discourse about a war with France, the French king and ours not agreeing concerning the interest of the King of Sweden, which the French would have to be adjusted, before they would deliver up the towns they had taken in Flanders: but, by what I heard, I thought the thing had but an unlikely aspect, and particularly as I had seen the king, duke, and French ambassador so very often merry, and intimate together at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, laughing at those who believed it in earnest.

On the 10th of October came the first news of the popish plot, or a design of the papist to kill the king. Nobody can conceive that was not a witness thereof, what a ferment this raised among all ranks and degrees. Being at this time in the country, I hurried to town with my family.

The parliament met on the 21st, and the king in his speech told us, he had kept the army on foot longer than by the act for disbanding it was allowed; but that he had done it to preserve the rest of Flanders, which had proved an expensive precaution to him; that he was deeply in debt; that his revenue would not defray the charge of the government; that he would satisfy them as to this, by laying the whole scheme of his income before them, and that he then doubted not but they would make him a proper augmentation.

That there had been a design against his life by the Jesuits and their friends; but that he would not descend to the particulars of the thing, lest some should think he said too little, and others, that he said too much: in a word, he left the whole to their discovery.

The two houses (but the commons especially) took fire at this, and immediately voted an address to the king, that all papists should be removed ten miles from London. And now came on the tragedy of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and now also appeared Doctor Oates, who, as he pretended, having some jealousy of what was in agitation, dissembled himself a papist, and got admittance of the jesuits college at St. Omer's, where seeing into the whole matter, he told it to one Doctor Tongue, an English divine, who told it to my lord treasurer, who privately told it to the king, in such manner that the thing was stifled and latent for a whole month. But being with the king at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, on the 20th, my lord treasurer also being present, the king told me, "he took it to be some arti-"fice, and that he did not believe one word of the "whole story."

On the 25th Coleman's affair made also a noise, and seemed in some sort to confirm the other. He made very free with his highness's name upon several important articles, though the duke was an utter stranger to his correspondence, as he desired his friends of both houses to declare for him. The commons, however, were very angry with my lord treasurer, for keeping the plot so long in the dark, seeing the king might have been made away with in the mean time. This news I first of any body communicated to his lordship, in the presence of the king, who said, "my lord was in no fault "as to that; he having commanded him to keep it secret, "the better to make discovery of what truth there "might be therein."

Now to enter into the particulars of this plot, real or

pretended, is not the design of this work; the several narratives of the witnesses before the two houses of parliament, and the courts of justice, upon the trials of the parties accused, give sufficient insight and satisfaction, as to all that can be said of it. Thus much we may, however, observe, that though a great deal of what was advanced and confidently related, bore the face of improbability, yet such was the torrent of the times, that no doubt was to be made of all that was heard.

All the beginning of November was taken up by the commons, in examining of witnesses concerning the plot, who came in very plentifully, the king having, at the request of the commons, granted indemnity to all who should make any discovery, though ever so deeply and blackly engaged themselves, and not only indemnity, but subsistence into the bargain. At length the commons came to this resolution, that upon the evidence which appeared from Coleman's letters, and the informations of Oates and others, it was plain there was a hellish and damnable design to assassinate and murder the king, and to subvert the religion and government as by law established.

The house of lords now requested his royal highness to withdraw himself from the king's councils, and he complied with the request; but the commons went a step higher, and were for removing him from about the king's person. There were those in the house who argued the danger of this, observing that his highness might be thereby tempted to put himself at the head of the popish faction. Some there were also, who moved that the duke should be sent out of England. The king and duke, both, spoke to all their friends to oppose this, and it was effectually done; for no resolution being taken that day, the debate was adjourned to the 8th instant. But though it came not to the vote, the house was generally of opinion, that the duke's

being of that religion was what principally encouraged the papists to such wicked attempts: in short, they were, by proclamation, banished to the distance of ten miles from London.

While Coleman's letters were under the consideration of the house, I waited several times on my lord treasurer, who had called several of us together, on the 6th and 7th of November, to consult us about an act to lessen the popish interest in this kingdom; when his lordship told us, the king was willing something should be enacted, to pare (as his expression was) the nails of a popish successor; but that he would never suffer his brother to be taken away from him, or the right line to the crown to be interrupted; and to the same effect the king spoke to the two houses the next day.

To pass over other things more generally known, a jealousy now seemed to arise between the duke and the lord treasurer. The duke thought his lordship was within himself for his leaving the court, that so he might have the king the more absolutely in his own power: and my lord (though I believe he endeavoured to serve the duke all he could, though no friend to his religion) resented the duke's suspicion. Much was, at this time, done and transacted, in disfavour of the popish party; particularly on the 13th, the lords passed that great bill to incapacitate such of the Roman Catholic members as should refuse to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy; though my lord high treasurer said in my hearing, but the night before, he was sure it would never pass in that house.

The Duke of Holstein's resident had, it seems, reported the lord treasurer to be in the pay and pension of France. Thus, at least, had his lordship been informed, and sending for him, he sent for me also to be present at the examination; but the resident absolutely denied what was laid to his charge. To make amends for this, I, a few days after, acquainted

his lordship, that the same gentleman had assured me, the commons would most certainly fall upon him, and that it was in his power to turn the edge of one that was most violent against him. I told him also, that I had, from other hands, been informed, that my cousin Ralph Montague, since Lord Montague, lately recalled from being ambassador in France, and now member of our house, would accuse him there. But my lord gave no ear to either of these; saying, the latter durst not impeach him, for that he had letters to show from him, whilst ambassador, that would prove how officious he was to persuade him, to accept of the French king's money, though he absolutely refused it. The same day the duke told me, he expected to be attacked by the commons, and hoped his friends would stand firm to him; and Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of state, was, by the house, committed to the tower, for passing the musters of some popish officers, without tendering them the oaths, though he had his majesty's orders for so doing.

Bedloe, the evidence, went on apace, but being on the 21st with the king, his majesty told me, "Bedloe "was a rogue, and that he was satisfied he had given "some false evidence, concerning the death of Sir "Edmundbury Godfrey."

In preparing the bill for purging the house of lords of such as refused the new test, it was put to the question, whether or no his royal highness should be excused from taking it, and it was carried in the affirmative, but by no more than two votes: had it been carried in the negative, he would, in the next place, have been voted away from the king's presence. And now all the popish lords, three excepted, were expelled the house of peers.

Having proceeded thus far, the commons voted an address to the king, on the 1st of December, from that house, to represent the ill state of the nation, and the

danger it was in, by his majesty's adhering to private councils rather than to his two houses of parliament: this aimed at my lord treasurer, and some others of the cabinet council. This was carried by two and twenty votes, and even some of the courtiers were for it; whence it was by some surmised, that the duke, being no longer in councils, was grown jealous of the treasurer, and had a mind he should be removed. It was now said the duke had been persuaded (but unjustly) that his lordship endeavoured to insinuate into the king, that there was something of probability in the accusation against the queen, purely that he might hearken to a divorce, and marry another more likely to bring children to the crown.

The commons were now intent upon disbanding the army, raising of money for that purpose, and the conviction of popish recusants; during which the right of the lords to interfere in a money-bill was warmly contested; but not to dwell on so nice a subject, on the 6th the king caused Mr. Montague's papers to be seized, and acquainted the house of commons, that having been his ambassador at the French court, he had taken on him to treat with the pope's nuncio, without any commission from him for so doing; and that he had seized his papers to come at the purport of the said treaty. But Montague assured the house, that this was a mere artifice, a contrivance of the treasurer's to save himself; but that his lordship had therein failed, for that although most of his letters were seized, he had by good look saved the most material. One of them, dated the 25th of March, 1678, instructed him to acquaint that court with the great difficulties he met withal here in the affair of peace between us and them, and the fear there was the parliament should discover it: that, however, he had orders from the king to bid him treat with them for a peace, as well between *them and the con*federates, as ourselves; upon condition,

the French king would give ours six hundred thousand livres per annum, for three years together, after the conclusion of the peace; for that as our king would thereby disgust the parliament, he could expect no money from them of so long a time: and finally, that when he wrote back to the secretary, concerning this transaction, he should be silent as to the money, and so on. (Signed) DANBY.

This put the house into a flame, and a motion was instantly made, that the treasurer should be impeached of high treason; for that he had endeavoured to estrange the king from his parliament, and make it of no use to him; and one Mr. Powel observed, that this was usurping a power to the exclusion of other councillors, who had a right to advise the king as well as himself; the very treason that was laid to the charge of the Spencers, and the duke of Ireland, in the days of Richard the Second.

But it was answered, that it was no such great offence to write this by the king's own order, as was expressed in the letter itself, and would be owned, as supposed, by the king at this time. That the king had certainly a power to advise with which of his councillors he pleased; and that if his majesty foresaw the confederates would strike up a peace, which we must comply with, where was the harm of making what advantage we could of it to ourselves, and at the same time of sparing the purses of the subject?

A second letter was produced, which gave assurance of inclinations for a very fair understanding between us and his most Christian majesty; together with advice to hasten the peace; because the duke seemed every day more and more averse to it; and mentioned some towns to be given up by the French, as cautionary, to the confederates, upon the conclusion of this peace. Mr. Montague then declared in the house, that the French king was willing to deliver up two towns more

than he did by the former treaty; but that my lord treasurer was so earnest and pressing for money, that he thereby made the terms much worse for the confederates; but at the same time acknowledged he could not say he knew of any money paid either to him or to his majesty. Other things were now laid to the treasurer's charge, as the mal-administration of his office, and the lowness of the exchequer: but to this it was answered, by his lordship's friends, that a debt of six hundred thousand pounds had been paid off since he had been in office, though no money had in all that time been given to the king, but what had been appropriated to the uses designed.

He was farther accused (this letter bearing date the 25th of March, 1678, and the act which gave money to the king to enter into a war with France being passed but the 20th) of deluding the nation, in advising the king to take money for raising an army for service abroad; and at the same time treating for money from France to make a peace, which looked as if a standing army was designed to humble England, and not France. In short, the question being put, it was resolved, that an impeachment be drawn up against the lord treasurer, and a committee was accordingly appointed for that purpose.

Mr. Montague was, in this case, justly censured, for disclosing what had passed through his hands, when a public minister, without the king's leave. Mean while, the treasurer endeavoured to destroy the credit of his accuser, and on the 7th produced some letters from him, when in France, which were read in the house, and made it appear that Montague had been very guilty of the offences he threw upon his lordship: but his enemies were so many and so powerful, that the whole edge was bent against him; in a word, the tide was not to be stemmed, and six articles of impeachment *were drawn up against* him.

But a debate arose, whether, supposing any of these articles to be true, they amounted to high treason, none of them being within the statute of Edward III. At length the question being put, whether or no an impeachment of high treason, founded upon the said articles against his lordship, should be carried up to the house of lords, the ayes were 179, and the noes 130. The impeachment was carried up to the bar of the house of lords on the 23d, where it being presently debated, whether or no his lordship should withdraw, it was carried in the negative by 20 voices; and then both houses adjourned for Christmas eve, and Christmas day only.

On the 26th the houses met, and the commons heard some evidence concerning the death of Sir Edmund Godfrey, and quarrelled with the lords on account of the amendment they had made in the money-bill for disbanding the army. The same day I spoke both with the king and the duke, who both declared they would adhere to my lord treasurer.

The next day the lords voted, that he should not be committed: and the same day the dispute between the two houses, concerning the money-bill, was decided by a conference, and the bill passed both houses. And here I cannot but take notice, that the king observing the Lord Stafford to be very violent in the house against the Lord Danby, (which, it seems, took birth from a personal pique to him, for obstructing a pension he had from the crown) told me, "he wondered "at it much, seeing his father came to the unfortunate "end he did, by the very self same method of pro-"cedure."

On the 30th, when it was least expected, the king prorogued the parliament to the 4th of February; some said in favour of the papists, others of the lord treasurer, and others again in defence of his prerogative, which was more than one way invaded by the commons.

but his majesty at the same time declared he intended to disband the army, and prosecute the business of the plot. Montague was now discovered in a disguise at Dover, in his way to France.

On the 24th of January, 1678–9, my lord treasurer sent for me, and told me, the king had declared he would dissolve the parliament, and advised me to make interest as soon as I could against the approaching election, for that another parliament would speedily be called. This parliament was, for the most part, very loyal both to the king and the church; which made those of adverse sentiments very desirous of its dissolution; and the way they contrived to bring it about, as was credibly reported, was by persuading the treasurer to obtain it of the king, promising if he should succeed therein, that there should be no farther prosecution against him in the next parliament; but they deceived him, as he afterwards experienced.

On the 31st, both the king and the duke advised me to stand for the next parliament, and both of them assured me, not only of my government of Burlington, but of their assistance also, if it came to a controverted election.

On the 6th of February a proclamation coming out for the election of a new parliament, my lord treasurer conducted me to his majesty, and thanked him for his promise of continuing me in my government; to which the king replied, that I had served him faithfully, and that he intended to be kind to me. My lord treasurer wrote also to the high sheriff of Yorkshire, to be favourable to me in the return; to conclude, having taken leave of the Duke of Monmouth, I left the town to go into the country.

On the 6th of March the parliament met, but a difference arose about the choice of a speaker, the house being for one, and the king recommending another; wherefore they refused to enter upon business, but

adjourned to the 7th instant, then to the 8th, and so to the 10th. The next day I met the king in his royal robes, and with his crown upon his head, as he came out of the house of lords: he stopped to ask me if I was elected? to which replying yes, he said, he was glad of it. Upon my return to town, I, to the surprise of all men, found that the king had commanded the duke to go into Flanders: some said the treasurer had brought this to pass, that he might engross the king to himself; others said it was to divert the violence of both houses against his highness, from the suspicion of some that he was of the plot. But I presume it was chiefly intended to extirpate all jealousies in the parliament, that he was influenced by popish councils, though even from his own brother.

The commons began to be angry with the treasurer, for that the speaker they had proposed had been rejected by the king; saying he was the cause of it, because, truly, the gentleman was not his lordship's friend. This dispute subsisting between the king and the commons, they at length address him, beseeching him not to invade their undoubted privilege of chusing their speaker; but his majesty still insists on it, that without his approbation, their choice is of none effect. Now all the moderate men in the house were concerned that such punctilios should stand in the way of business, especially when business of such high importance lay before them; but the angry party was deaf to all remonstrance; and the king, by way of expedient, prorogued the parliament to the 11th instant, and from thence to the 15th, when Serjeant Gregory being elected, both sides were satisfied.

The storm now begins to fall heavy upon the lord treasurer, insomuch that he has thoughts of delivering up his staff, and with it his office, in hopes by such resignation, to allay the heats against him. I was averse to this step, I confess, and would have had him

stood his ground, as long as the king would stand by him, saying, his resignation would but expose him the more to the power of his enemies; in short, that the lords would fear him the less, and the commons not love him a bit the better. Several persons had got possessed of good employments, not so much by my lord's favour and kindness, as by giving money to his lady, who had for some time driven on a private trade of this sort, though not without his lordship's participation and concurrence. This I knew, but had neither the face nor the inclination to come in at that door; so that I was postponed to many, who, as I thought, deserved as little as myself; but they had but a bad bargain, they were now all swept away with the same torrent that began to overwhelm his lordship; against whom fresh matter appeared on the 17th, upon the evidence of Bedloe, before the committee appointed to examine into the plot; he accusing the treasurer of having tampered with him to fly during this interval of parliament. And now everything went harder and harder with his lordship's friends; so that my election being controverted, the committee of privileges and elections, in a few days afterwards, gave my cause against me by a small majority of two only; which, considering the stream of the times, I reckoned to be as good as half a victory at least.

On the 20th, a message was sent to the lords, desiring the treasurer might be committed; but their lordships had but just before voted him eight days to prepare his defence in. On the 22d, the commons repeated their former message to the lords; and the next day the king coming to the house of lords, in the usual state and formality, informed both houses, that it was by his particular order the lord treasurer had written the two letters, produced by Montague: that it was not the lord treasurer who had concealed the plot, but *that it was* himself who told it his lordship, from time

to time, as he thought fit. His majesty then declared he had granted the said nobleman a full pardon, and that, if occasion required, he would give it him again ten times over: that, however, he intended to lay him aside from his employments, and to forbid him the court.

Some would have persuaded his lordship to take refuge abroad, as what would appease both houses: and indeed the lords had a conference with the commons about preparing a bill to banish him, and the commons desired some days to consider of it, in hopes he would have withdrawn in that time. In the midst of this perplexity I saw his lordship at midnight of the 24th, as he came out of his closet, from advising with his friends what to do. He gave me a great many thanks and good words; told me he had recommended me to the king as a fit person to be sent his envoy into France; as also where I was to make application in his absence, if I wanted any thing with the king.

The next day the commons, in a great heat, refused to comply with the lords, in their bill of banishment; they said it was too slight a punishment, and sent to demand justice of their lordships against the treasurer, declaring, he ought not only to be punished in his own person, but in his posterity likewise, as an example of those, who for the future should succeed him in his office: but before the message came, the lords had changed their minds, and sent the black rod for the treasurer; too late though; he was gone, and now it was surmised the king was grown cool towards him.

A most unhappy thing it is to serve a fickle prince, which, it must be owned, was part of our master's character. Had the treasurer considered nobody but himself, he might certainly have fared better; but he resolved rather to suffer, than to do any thing that might derive any dishonour on the king, or others about him, as he has since said himself. This great

change, I must own, made me seriously ponder the incertitude of human grandeur: it was but a few months before that few things were transacted at court, but with the privity or consent of this great man; the king's brother, and favourite mistress, were glad to be fair with him, and the general address of all men of business was to him, who was not only treasurer, but prime minister also; who not only kept the purse, but was the first and greatest confident in all affairs of state. But now he is neglected of all, forced to hide his head as a criminal, and in danger of losing all he has got, and his life therewith: his family raised from privacy to the degree of marquis, (a patent was then actually passing, to invest him with that dignity) is now on the brink of falling below the humble stand of a yeoman; nor would almost the meanest subject change conditions with him now, who so very lately the greatest beheld with envy. This confirmed me in a belief, that a middle state is always the best; not so lowly as to be trodden on, nor so lofty as to fear the blasts of envy. A man should not be so wanting in point of industry, as not to endeavour to distinguish himself in some sort from the bulk of those of his rank; nor yet so ambitious as to sacrifice the ease of this life, and of that to come, by mounting over the heads of others, to a greatness of uncertain duration. But to digress no farther.

I wrote to his royal highness, to acquaint him with the posture of affairs here at present. The two houses of parliament continued in division, as to what should be inflicted on the fallen treasurer; the lords adhering to their bill to banish him, and the commons to their bill of attainder, till at last it came to a free conference between them. This business, and the plot, engrossed the attention of the houses for a long time; during which time it was thought the Lord Danby lay concealed at Whitehall.

The king seemed not at all concerned at thus parting with his brother, and his treasurer; nor in any degree solicitous about the use the parliament would make thereof; though it was suspected they would get their own friends into power, and obtain a snip of the prerogative, in consideration of the money they gave to his majesty.

My Lord Danby surrendering himself on the 17th of April, 1779, was committed prisoner to the Tower, where, going to pay him a visit, he seemed to be very little concerned.

The privy council of fifty lords, was now dismissed on the 19th, and a new one called, consisting of thirty of those lords and commoners, who had, in both houses, been most active against the late court measures; of these were Lord Russel, Lord Hallifax, Lord Cavendish and others. The admiralty was put into commission, and so was the treasury. The Duke of Monmouth was supposed to be at the bottom of all this; it is certain it was now that he began to set up for himself.

On the 25th, my Lord Danby returned answer to his impeachment, to the upper house, pleading the king's pardon. This was sent down to the commons, who referred it to a committee; and the result was, that his majesty had no power to grant pardon in this case: the same day both houses began to cast reflections on the Duchess of Portsmouth.

The commons, pursuant to their resolution the day before, sat on the 27th, being Sunday, to consider of the means for the preservation of his majesty's person; and voted, that the best way would be to prevent the succession from falling into the hands of a papist, and that the Duke of York being such, was the reason of the late conspiracy against the king's person and government, and the religion as by law established.

My Lord Viscount Hallifax being now of the council,

and entering into business, he, though a great enemy to the Earl of Danby, professed a kindness for me; but here I must observe, that most of the other lords and gentlemen of the privy council, though great patriots before, in the esteem of both houses, began, in some measure, to lose their credit with both, so true it is, that there is no wearing the court and country livery together.

On the 11th of May, the lords in the Tower moved that council might be assigned them, in vain; and a day was appointed to consider of that part of his majesty's speech, where he said he was willing to concur with his parliament, in passing a bill to limit a popish successor, so that he should not be able to alter the government and religion as now by law established, though he would not suffer the succession itself to be touched: against this day a committee was appointed to examine into Coleman's letters, and to make report to the house of whatever therein related to the Duke of York. They reported, that by the said letters they had discovered, that his highness had written thrice to the pope; that his first letter miscarried; that the second gave his holiness such an excess of joy, that the old gentleman could not refrain from tears; and that the third was to excuse the consent he gave to have his daughter married to the Prince of Orange, and to acquaint him, that the run of the times had obliged him to such involuntary compliance. Upon this and some further intimation of the same nature, a debate arose, whether a bill should be drawn up in the way his majesty had suggested, or whether they should immediately proceed to a total exclusion. The friends for the limitation argued, that we might be as safely secured the one way as the other; that a small revenue might be settled upon a papist successor while he continued in that persuasion; that the militia might be taken out of his hands; and that a parliament might be empowered

to assemble, whenever the present king should die, and to sit for six weeks, in order to settle the affairs of the kingdom, to appoint protestant officers, military and civil, and to make choice of bishops, which the successor, if a papist, should have no power to nominate.

To this it was objected, that such a project of procedure were altering the very frame and constitution of our government and monarchy, and directly to reduce it to a republic; that it would be quite ineffectual; that the king, by the fundamental laws of the land, was head and supreme of the three estates; that a parliament so convened as above, could enact nothing valid without him; that while he enjoyed the title of king, he would exercise a power adequate to his office; and that therefore the means proposed were delusory and unsafe, in comparison of an utter exclusion. It was replied, that this expedient was by far more to be avoided than the former; that it was depriving the duke of his birthright; that if his highness survived, he had as clear a claim to succeed the king, if he died childless, as any man whatever had to succeed to his father's possessions; that probably a prince of his spirit would not easily submit to be so disinherited; that such a disturbance of the succession had never, in this kingdom, been of any lasting effect; that right had always prevailed at last; that civil wars, upon the like occasions, had been disastrous to England; that success would reverse all attainder; and that should his highness force his way to the crown, the overthrow of religion and government were more, much more, to be feared, than by his peaceful accession.

The next day I acquainted the king with my fate in the committee, he said, "he was very sorry for it, but "that they should not stay long behind me, if they did "not use himself and his brother better than they did;" and promised to continue me in my command at Burlington, with a salary of two hundred pounds, till a

company should become vacant, which I should have in lieu of mine now to be disbanded with the rest of the army.

On the 14th, the king sent a message to the commons, advising them to think of raising money for the equipment of a fleet, and for a fresh provision of naval stores, very much wanted in all the yards in England. This message being taken into consideration, the house insisted on a change of the succession, and a proper security for religion, and a removal of all officers they disliked, the kingdom over. Such was the tenor of the debate, but no vote passed, except to adjourn the farther consideration of this matter for eight days.

Now the lords who were in the Tower for the plot, and my Lord Danby, being shortly to take their trials, an arduous question arose in the house of lords, concerning the bishops, whether or no they ought to be present in cases of blood. Whereupon the commons, thinking these spiritual lords would be of too favourable an inclination, took the consideration of the same into their house, and came to an opinion, they ought not to be present. This was resented by the lords, as if the commons interfered with a branch of their judicature; in short, the dispute grew to be of great warmth.

Mean while the kingdom in general had a very melancholy aspect; the king was poor; the officers of the crown and of the household were clamorous for their salaries and dues, which had not of a long time been paid, and no wonder, when Sir Robert Howard, one of the chief officers of the exchequer, declared in the house of commons, that there was not money sufficient for bread for the king's family; there were no stores any where, either for the sea service or the land; the garrisons were all out of repair, the platforms decayed, and the cannon dismounted; the army divided, for the Duke of York and against him, the officers of state the *same; the parliament* for the most part in a ferment,

and glad of these public misunderstandings, as favouring their desire of clipping the wings of the prerogative, reducing the height of monarchy, and furthering their private designs; the king also and his brother at variance, and so kept by those who promised to make his majesty quite easy, if he would but comply with them so far as to disinherit the duke; so that he was quite in suspense as to what resolution he should or should not take.

The Duke of Monmouth was certainly very much in the king's affections, was evidently in councils against his uncle of York; for all his creatures in the house voted against his highness, nor were any men higher in his estimation, than the earls of Shaftsbury and Essex, and other chiefs of the cabal. The truth is, though the Duke of Monmouth was quite finished as to his exterior, his inside was by no means of a piece therewith; so that he was easily beguiled by Shaftsbury into the flattering notion of being, the duke disinherited, the next heir to the crown, either by the king's declaring marriage with his mother, or by being made legitimate by act of parliament. And indeed, though at the instances of the Duke of York, the king had openly in council declared, that the Duke of Monmouth was but his natural son, and that he never was married to his mother, there were numbers ready to assert his right, and who pretended that sufficient witness was to be produced of such as were actually at the wedding, and that a record of the same was kept in a black box, in custody of some of the Duke of Monmouth's friends, but to dismiss this—on the 21st the lords voted, that the bishops might be present at the trial of the lords, and the commons committed the bill of exclusion on the 23d, upon a previous question put, the ayes 246, the noes 128.

Two days afterwards, I was at the king's couchée, and wondered to see him quite cheerful, amidst such

an intricacy of troubles; but it was not his nature to think or perplex himself much about any thing. I had the good fortune to say something that pleased his majesty, and the Duke of Newcastle, one of the bed-chamber, being in waiting, his grace took the opportunity of saying some kind things of me; whereupon his majesty came to me, and reassured me of a continuance in my command, and told me, he would stick by his old friends.

But the lords persisting in their opinion, that their spiritual members might be present at the trial of the prisoners, and particularly of the Earl of Danby's, as to the validity of his pardon, which was his plea; and on the other hand, the commons voting that the said lords should not be present, and resolving only to proceed against that earl, and not the rest of the prisoners, though the time appointed for the trial of them all was come, extraordinary heats arose between the two houses, insomuch that on the 29th his majesty came and told them, that not perceiving which way they were to be reconciled, he prorogued them till the 14th of August. The city of London, where the anti-court party was very strong, took so great offence at this, and were so angry, that it was thought they would have risen; but all, with much ado, was hushed and kept quiet.

On the 12th of June, came news of an insurrection in Scotland, to the number of 7000 men; that they had burnt several acts of parliament, as the act of uniformity and episcopacy, as also the act which abolished and condemned the covenant. That they had set forth a declaration for Jesus Christ, the kirk, and the covenant; in short, some troops that were ordered out against them being defeated, the Duke of Monmouth was sent post haste into Scotland to stop the progress of this infant rebellion.

On the 22d, the king told me he had an account

that the two armies were but ten miles distant from each other, that his consisted not of above 1200, and that the rebels were above 6000 strong; but notwithstanding this great odds, news came the next day that the latter, after a very poor resistance, had been utterly routed and dispersed.

Being in the country, on the 9th of July, and understanding the Duke of Monmouth was to be at Doncaster, post out of Scotland, I went to meet him, and sent half a buck, and some extraordinary sorts of wine to entertain him there. He came not till midnight, and raised me out of the bed designed for him, his delay tempting me to think he would hardly be in that night. Sir Thomas Armstrong was with him, and told me the king had heard some falsehoods concerning the duke, and had, in all haste, sent for him out of Scotland. And indeed it happened to be understood, that after his victory he was about laying a foundation whereon to succeed in that kingdom, and by the industry of his agents making himself popular.

The Duke of York, who had been some time abroad, suddenly appeared again in England, to see the king, who, as was pretended, had not been well. The duke of Monmouth, who thought he had the king to himself, knew nothing of it, till his highness actually arrived at Windsor; nor were there above four persons who knew any thing at all of the matter, so close and reserved could the king be, when he conceived it to be necessary. This revocation of the duke was principally owing to the intervention of Lord Feversham, who afterwards told me the whole story. And now it was thought that the parliament, being chiefly made up of exclusionists, would be but very short-lived. The duke however went back again, but it was only to fetch his duchess, whom he had left behind him, returning presently, with his whole court from Flanders, and desiring of the king, that if he must needs be absent, he might rather

remain in some part of his majesty's dominions, and so he was sent into Scotland. His highness then proceeded northward; but Lord Shaftsbury being soon after removed, the exclusionists began to despair of success; nor was that all; for the Duke of Monmouth having been sent into Flanders, and returning without the king's leave, drew such displeasure on him, that he was divested of all his employments. Soon after, I heard the duke had been sent for, from Scotland, by the king; that the two brothers met very affectionately, and that the king particularly said, "nobody should ever part them for the future;" and with this we conclude this year.

In April, 1680, I went to London to solicit some business at court, but the application of all men being to the duke, who quite engrossed the king to himself, his highness had but little leisure to give ear to, or assist his friends, for as such he seemed to look on me when I attended him at York, the last year, as he went down to Scotland; and, indeed, there was small hopes of succeeding in money requests, as mine was, the king every day retrenching rather than increasing his expences, that so he might stand the less in need of his parliament, which he despaired of finding in any good humour.

There were, at this time, great meetings of persons dissatisfied with the court, where consultations were held to distress the king upon all occasions, whether in parliament, or out of it, and these resorts were called cabals. The Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the Lords Russel, Cavendish and others, were the chiefs of these assemblies, which, for the greater privacy, shifted every night from house to house; the public outcry pretending fears of popery, and the safety of the king.

The king and the duke being at Windsor, came to *town but once* a week, to be present at council; and

finding the friends I had with the king were but of little service to me, I went myself to Windsor on the 8th of May, and acquainted the duke with a design, in agitation with some people, to prove the king's marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and informed him how he might obviate it; for which he thanked me, and told me, without my asking it, that he had been mindful of my business. The king shewed me a great deal of what he had done to the house, which was indeed very fine, and acquainted me with what he intended to do more; for then it was he was upon finishing that most majestic structure. He lived quite privately at this time; there was little or no resort to him, and his days he passed in fishing, or walking in the park; and certain it is, he was much better pleased with retirement, than the hurry of the gay and busy world.

I returned to Windsor on the 17th, and had all assurances, from the duke, of constant services with the king, in what I solicited, which was to go abroad in quality of envoy extraordinary; and at the same time taking my leave of his majesty, he laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said, "he was very sensible "of my services, and that they should be rewarded." I took this opportunity to put him in mind of his promise to send me abroad, and mentioned a nobleman who was present when he made it; and he said, "he "remembered it particularly well, and that, upon the "very first occasion, he would be as good as his word."

In October it was again rumoured about, that the Duke of York was to depart before the meeting of the parliament; some said in obedience to the king's orders; others, to avoid the violence of both houses: for plain and most evident it was, that the papists lifted up their crest with great arrogance, presuming on support from the duke, who now reigned absolute in all the king's affairs. In short, the duke and duchess set

out once more for Scotland on the 21st; and the next day the parliament meeting, the king in his speech declared, "they were free to do whatever they would "for the security of the protestant religion, provided "they did not offer to divert the direct line of the "succession."

But still the commons went on, this month and the next, to frame a bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, and the gentlemen and others of Yorkshire, who had counter-petitioned, and declared their abhorrence of the tumultuous petition for a meeting of parliament, were voted betrayers of the liberties of the people, and abettors of arbitrary power. A committee was also appointed to inquire into the matter, and after the persons concerned therein; and two members of the house, both of Yorkshire, who had set their hands to the abhorrence, were convened before them; but I, who was the penman of that instrument, had done it so cautiously, that no hold could be fastened, no exceptions taken, and so they got off.

In November the parliament pursued the duke with such violence, and the king was so thoroughly distressed for money, that some began to be of opinion, his majesty would abandon his brother. Attending, about this time, at the king's supper, I told him that I was threatened by some of the house of commons, to be called to an account for penning the abhorrence, and signed it with the rest of the Yorkshire gentlemen: to which his majesty made answer, "do not trouble your-"self; I will stick by you and my old friends; for if I "do not, I shall have nobody to stick by me." But yet, it was, by a great many, feared he was not quite resolved as to this profession; for money was so exceedingly wanting, and the offers of the parliament so very fair, if he would but give up his brother, that nobody was safe. What added to the suspicion was, that many who were well in the king's esteem, appeared for the

bill of exclusion: nor was it unknown that the Duchess of Portsmouth was well inclined to it; whether artfully to insinuate herself into the good graces of the party, who had been at greatest enmity with her, or in compliance with the French, whose tool she was, who was ready to catch at any thing to embroil us at home, is uncertain.

A few days afterwards, I happened to be at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, where the king was quite unreserved, and very open as to the witnesses who were making out the popish plot, and proved to a demonstration, that many articles they had given in evidence, were not only improbable, but quite impossible.

The 7th of this month was one of the greatest days ever known in the house of lords, with regard to the importance of the business they had in hand, which concerned no less than the lineal succession to the crown, the bill having passed the commons, who sent it up to the lords. Great was the debate, and great were the speakers; the chief of those for the bill was the Earl of Shaftsbury; the chief of those against it, Lord Hallifax. It was matter of surprise, that the latter should appear at the head of an opposition to the former, when they were wont always to draw together; but the business in agitation was against the Lord Hallifax's judgment, and therefore he opposed it with vigour; and being a man of the clearest head, finest wit, and fairest eloquence, he made so powerful a defence, that he alone, so all confessed, influenced the house, and persuaded them to throw out the bill.

The king was so highly pleased with the transactions of this day, that he, soon after, took this great lord into business; but, on the other hand, the commons were so angry with him, that though they could regularly take no notice of what any man said in the other house, they voted an address to the king to lay him aside, and remove him from his councils and presence. To this

he answered, "that if Lord Hallifax had done any "thing contrary to law, he was willing he should be "prosecuted and punished accordingly; but that not "being satisfied he had done any thing amiss, he could "not part with him," or words to that effect. One would have thought that so signal a piece of service, Lord Hallifax did to his highness, had been of a degree and nature never to be forgot: but when the duke afterwards came to be king, he, from the privy seal, where he found him, removed him to the presidency of the council, purely to make room for another, and in the end quite laid him aside.

On the 22d, I was a long while in discourse with his majesty, and, among other things, told him, I doubted whether I should be inserted in the list, the lords had voted to be given in to them, of the military officers, there being neither company nor gunner at Burlington, where I was governor, to make it appear a garrison; and that if I was, I presumed I should be of the number of those they intended to petition his majesty to lay aside: to this the king answered, "let them do what "they will, I will never part with any officer at the "request of either house; my father lost his head by "such compliance; but as for me, I intend to die "another way."

Lord Hallifax, as we have observed before, having defeated the bill of exclusion, in the house of lords, was beheld as the rising man, and premier favourite. I waited on him on the 28th, and the next day he took me in his coach to Whitehall, and invited me to dine with him in private: in our conversation together, he told me it was to be feared some unhappy differences might distract the nation from these uneasinesses about the succession: and that in case things should unhappily ripen to a war, it might be proper to form something of a party in one's own thoughts. He said he knew *there was but another* and myself that had any con-

siderable influence in my neighbourhood; in consequence of which and some further conversation this way, I, the next day, carried him the names and characters of all the considerable men in those parts. And upon the whole, we agreed that the loyalists were not only the most numerous, but also the most active and wealthy; and that those who, in parliament, were against the court, were men of little account or estimation in their own country.

But to turn our eyes upon what justly claimed the attention of all men, on the 30th came on the trial of Lord Stafford by his peers. Westminster Hall was the place, and I think it was the deepest solemnity I ever saw. Great were the expectations of the issue of this event, it being doubtful whether there were more who believed there was any plot by the papists in reality against the king's life than not. He was impeached by the commons, and being deemed to be weaker than the other lords in the Tower, for the same crime, and less able to labour his defence, was purposely marked out to be the first brought on; but he deceived them so far as to plead his cause to a miracle. The three chief evidences against him, were Dr. Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville: the first swore that his lordship had brought him a commission signed by the pope, to be paymaster of the army to be raised against the king; the second, that he had offered him five hundred pounds to kill the king; and the third, that he had offered him a reward for the dreadful deed, but at a different time. And so positive seemingly were they in this and other dangerous evidence, that I, who sat and heard most of the trial, had not known what to think, had the witnesses been but men of any the least credit; but indeed such were the incoherences, and indeed contradictions which seemed to me to rise towards the latter end, that considering them, and the very evil name of the people that swore against this lord, I was fully satisfied that

all was untruth they laid to his charge: but the poor gentleman was condemned by a majority of 22. He heard his accusers, and defended himself with great steadiness and resolution, and received his sentence with great courage and composure; nor did he stoop beneath the weight of his doom, till he submitted his head to the block, with his last breath protesting his innocence, and the cruel wrong he suffered. My Lord Hallifax was one that gave his voice for him; and the king who heard all his trial, was extremely concerned at the rigour and abruptness of his fate.

Being at my Lord Hallifax's in the beginning of December, I discovered, what was then generally unknown, that his lordship sat up for first minister; for I saw the French ambassador come privately to him upon business. This same day the commons were asked, what they would do for the king after so long a sitting to no effect, as to the matters his majesty required of them? they voted this answer, that they would put him into a condition to defend Tangiers; to pay off all his debts; put the fleet into a condition, and enable him to assist his allies; provided he would relinquish the duke his brother; pass an act for the more frequent meeting of parliament, and change such officers about him as the house should point out. There were many who believed the king would be tempted to comply; but, the very next day, seeing my Lord Hallifax, he assured me there was not the least probability that he would, for "that it was like offering a man money to cut off his nose."

The same day the unfortunate Lord Stafford came to the house of lords, and was admitted, under a notion that he had some discovery, or confession to make, concerning the popish plot; but instead of that, he only protested his own innocence, and accused Lord Shaftsbury of a correspondence with the papists, and of *sending him to the* Duke of York, to desire him to

use his interest with the king to dissolve the long parliament, as the best thing that could be done to favour the popish interest, and so he was remanded back again.

On the 24th, I was at the king's couchée, when there were but four present: his majesty was in a very good humour, and took up some time in displaying to us the fallacy and emptiness of those who pretend to a fuller measure of sanctity than their neighbours, and pronounced them to be, for the most part, abominable hypocrites, and the most arrant knaves; as instances of which he mentioned several eminent men of our own times, nor spared to introduce some mitred heads among the rest, whom he pretended to be none of the best, though their devout exterior gave them the character of saints with the crowd. However, there were of the men, so pointed out, some whom the king had no reason to love upon a political account, which may be pleaded in abatement of the acrimony of his censure. He was that night two full hours in putting off his cloaths, and it was half an hour past one before he went to bed. He seemed to be quite free from care and trouble, though one would have thought, at this time, he should have been overwhelmed therewith; for every body now imagined he must either dismiss the parliament in a few days, or deliver himself up to their pressing desires; but the straits he was in seemed no ways to embarrass him, as I just now observed.

On the 26th, I dined with that excellent man Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely: the famous Dr. Oates was of the company at table, and flushed with the thoughts of running down the Duke of York, expressed himself of his highness and his family, in terms that bespoke him a fool and something worse; nor contented with this, but he must rail at the queen, his mother, and her present majesty. In this strain did he hurry on, while no soul dared to oppose him, for fear

of being made a party of the plot; till, no longer able to bear with the insolence of the man, I took him to task for such purpose, that he flung out of the room with some heat. The bishop told me that such was the general drift of his discourse, that he had sometimes checked him for the indecency of his talk, but that finding he had done it to no manner of purpose, he had desisted from any further effort to set bounds to his virulence.

On the 29th, Lord Stafford was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill, where he persisted in the firmest denial of what was laid to his charge, and that in so cogent, convincing, and persuasive a manner, that all the beholders believed his words, and grieved his destiny. The same day I dined with my Lord Hallifax, who said to me, "well, if it comes to a war, you and I must go together." I told his lordship, I should be ready to follow him, happen what would; but that if the king expected his friends to be hearty in his cause, and steady to his person, he should consider with himself, and encourage them a little; and thereupon acquainted him with some of my disappointments at court, notwithstanding the most solemn reiterated promises; and added, that I should be glad his majesty would send me his envoy to some part of the world or other. But to return to things of more public and general concern;

On the 4th of January, 1680, the king sent down an answer to the house of commons, signifying, that he still persisted in his resolution, not to disturb the immediate succession to the crown; which had so unhappy an effect, as to cause the passing of some very violent votes against such as were understood to be the king's chief advisers in this matter, namely, the Earls of Hallifax, Clarendon, Feversham, the Marquis of Worcester, and Mr. Hyde, since Lord Rochester. *Upon this the* parliament was prorogued from the 10th

to the 20th of January; some thought in order for a dissolution, while others persisted, that the king would suffer them to sit at that time, and pass the bill. Waiting this day on Lord Hallifax, he complained much of the severity of the commons in their vote, "that he was a promoter of popery, and a betrayer of the people," which, said he, were a man ever so innocent, yet coming from the representative body of the people, is too heavy for the shoulders of any one single person; that he had therefore some thoughts of retiring from court; but that, however, he would go his own pace, and not be kicked out at their pleasure. That if for the future the king should have occasion for him, in any thing that was just, he should be ready to serve him: that if I would repose a confidence in him, he would let me know when it was time to appear for the king's service, and that I should share fortunes with him, and so on. But, at the same time, he complained of the fickleness and incertitude of the king's temper; and observed, that while he seemed perfectly to approve of the counsel you gave him, he hearkened to others from a back door, which made him wavering of mind, and slow to resolve. The next day I waited on Lord Danby in the Tower, and he spoke, of the king's unsteadiness, in the very self same strain; and particularly observed, that though the Duke of York had but little influence with him, as to what purely regarded himself, the minister would find him an overmatch with his majesty, as to any other person or concern. The same day the Duke of Newcastle told me he was to wait on the king the next, and that he fancied he would offer him some employment, but that as his majesty had not done it in better times, he would excuse himself now that they were so dangerous; which recalled to my mind what Lord Hallifax had observed a few days before, that the king's uncertainty and silence, as to what he proposed to himself, made men afraid to serve him.

In the midst of this, the city of London petitions the king, on the 13th, by their common council, for the sitting of the parliament, at the time appointed: to which the king made answer, "it was none of their business:" and it was the discourse that the parliament would be dissolved, and a new one called to sit at Oxford. My Lord Hallifax seemed averse to this dissolution, but he only seemed so; he could, certainly, have no very cordial wishes towards those who dealt so severely, as he thought, with him. My lord was now jealous, that the Earl of Danby would be taken out of the Tower, and received again into councils; which if it happened, his resolution was to retire, and his advice to me was, not to press for employment, till things were established upon a more solid foundation.

On the 16th, his lordship told me his thoughts were absolutely to retire, not that he was at all dissatisfied with the king, but that he was afraid the duke's superior prevalency with him, might peradventure carry things too far. In short, every thing now, and for some time to come, was in the most unsettled, dark, and most perplexing suspence, so that a man scarce knew what to think, or how to behave.

At length a new parliament was called on the 18th, to sit at Oxford; whether, being elected a member, I repaired, and waited on the king, who received me very kindly. I told him, I had it in charge from several gentlemen of our county, to acquaint him, they had no part in the petition offered to the knights of their shire, to prosecute the bill of exclusion against his highness; and that the thing had been managed but by six or seven factious persons, though it had been industriously reported to be a more general concern. His majesty said, he had already received some short account to the same purpose, and ordered me to return his thanks to those who did not busy themselves therein.

The parliament met on the 21st of March. The

court was at Christchurch; and the commons sat in the schools, but were very much straitened for room, there being a very great concourse of members. His majesty's speech to both houses was very gracious, and calculated to reconcile all differences, and to disperse all jealousies as to religion, &c. but was still averse to what former parliaments had so pushed at, the exclusion of his brother from the name and power of king. And yet the first point debated was, whether or no, notwithstanding the king's speech, a bill of exclusion should not be framed and brought in? but for the present it was only voted, that the security of his majesty's person, and of the protestant religion should be taken into consideration the 26th instant.

Not to insist on the impeachment of Fitzharris, which was done not to destroy, but to serve him in opposition to the court; the grand argument for the bill of exclusion was, that nothing could preserve us from popery but that alone. Now the whole house was of opinion, that popery was to be kept out; the dispute was only as to the means of effecting it. The king had, in his speech, offered to agree to any thing that might serve to quiet the minds of the people as to that particular, the utter exclusion of his brother only excepted. It was therefore moved by Sir Thomas Littleton, that a bill, to secure the protestant religion, should be brought in, and consist of the following heads; that the Duke of York should enjoy the title, and the Princess of Orange exercise the power. That if a parliament should be in being, when it should please God to take away the present king, they should have power to sit: that the judges, and all other officers of the crown, should be continued, till liberty and property were secured: that if there was no parliament subsisting, one should assemble of course: and that to prevent the duke's interfering to prevent this, he should, by the same act, be banished to the distance

of 500 miles from England, not to return as long as the king lived. To this it was objected, that the name and power of king were inseparable by the laws of England; that the father would soon find a way to divest the daughter of her power; that a regency was never known but in cases of lunacy and minority; and that the duke was not of a turn of disposition to be easily governed. But to this it was replied, that regencies had been frequently allowed in other cases besides incapacity and lunacy, as formerly in France, and now in Portugal; that princes were seldom so complaisant as to resign kingdoms or powers though to a father; and that as for the authority of parliament in this case, no question but the same power that could alter the government, could also modify it. But exclusion was the word: some seven or eight disgusted lawyers, and able speakers, joined by some others, who had been so active in this matter, that they thought, should the duke ever come to the crown, he could never forgive them, wrought so prevalently upon the members in general, that it was voted a bill should be brought in, to incapacitate James Duke of York, from succeeding to the imperial crown of this realm; nor during this debate did some forbear to reflect on his highness's courage and honour.

On the 26th of the same month, the lords refused to receive Fitzharris's impeachment; observing that he being already indicted at common law, and in a way of trial by his peers, as magna charta directed, they could not perceive how their house could take notice of his offence. The commons hereupon grew angry with the lords, and voted that such their lordships' proceeding was a delay of justice, a breach of the privilege of parliament, and a bar to the further discovery of the popish plot: and that for any inferior court to proceed therein, while an impeachment was depending, was an *high breach of* the privilege of parliament. The heats

grew, in short, to an excess in both houses, both as to this, and the bill of exclusion. The commons, however, were of opinion, that the king would give way to them, he having already made such advances towards their measures, and being in such thorough distress for money, besides that many who were near the king, urged them to persist still in their endeavours. But on the 28th, the very day the king had appointed the theatre to be made ready for the commons to sit in, they having complained of the straitness of the schools; the black rod came, and commanded them to attend at the bar of the house of lords, where being come, the king, in his robes, told them, that observing a great difference to have taken place between the two houses, which, if they sat any longer, might increase to a pernicious degree, it was his pleasure to dissolve that parliament; a blow so little foreseen, that there were those who thought there would have been some stirs or risings about it, in London.

It was now observed, that many of the discontented members, of both houses, came armed, and more than usually attended; and it was affirmed there was a design to have seized the king, and to have restrained him till they had granted their petitions. But if any such design there was, it happened that the parties either wanted the courage, or the opportunity to put it in execution; the king immediately departed with all speed for London.

His majesty was so kind as to afford me several opportunities of speaking to him, while I was at Oxford; and Lord Hallifax taking leave of him, and, in a particular manner, recommending me to his thoughts, his majesty laid both his hands upon me, and thanked me for my constancy to his interest, and bade me be assured of his affection.

By this abrupt dissolution, and what I had heard from Lord Hallifax and others, I concluded the king

was determined never to relinquish his brother; as also to call no other parliament for a long time yet to come. The truth is, the question now was not so much, whether the duke should succeed or not, as whether the government should be monarchial, or republican? some of the adverse side, had, in the house, babbled out, that the bill of exclusion was not the only material bill they intended to get passed this session, in order to secure the people of England from falling a prey to popery, and arbitrary power: that it was necessary the military and civil power too should be lodged in other hands, and that the present officers of both should be called to an account and changed: whence the king being told, that if he quitted his brother, it would be but an immediate step taken to ruin all his friends and servants, and to become himself exposed to the will and wishes of those, whom he had no reason to think were over and above affected to him, the king dreaded the consequences, and resolved accordingly.

Being at the king's couchée on the 20th of April, as I was three times in one week; his discourse ran generally upon the impossibility of anything like the popish plot, and the contradictions of which it was made up: that he intended Fitzharris should come upon his trial immediately: that in all affairs, relating to himself, the laws should have their regular course; and that, whatever his own private opinion might be, he would govern by them, and by them only: a happiness indeed it was for his people, to live under so good and so gracious a prince! and now we begin to have a prospect of halcyon days again; for his majesty having, since the last parliament was dissolved, issued out a declaration fraught with the fairest promises to his people, and assuring them of his firm intentions to govern inviolably according to law, and the like; it *had so happy* an effect, that he received the thanks of

the city of London, by the lord mayor, and of several counties and corporations in England.

In the interim, (May 4) Fitzharris is arraigned at the King's-bench bar, where by his counsel he refused to plead; because he stood in parliament impeached for the crimes he there was to be indicted for; though the impeachment specified no particular treasons, which the indictment did. The counsel for the king said, his plea was evasive, it not appearing whether the same crimes were intended by the one, as by the other.

This point was argued at the bar on the 9th, but the case being quite extraordinary, both in its own nature, as well as because of the severe vote of the commons at Oxford, the judges took time to consider of it, but two days afterwards pronounced judgment for the king; and in the end, Fitzharris received sentence of death, for his treason, and was executed accordingly.

On the 7th of July, my Lord Shaftsbury, and Lord Howard, were sent prisoners to the tower; and my Lord Hallifax told me, there would be enough produced against them to hang them both. A short time afterwards, I was, by my Lord Hallifax, presented to the king, in the closet, to take my leave of him, being speedily to set out for Yorkshire: his lordship, who was now become absolute favourite, presented me to his majesty, and spoke to him very kindly of me, and particularly desired him to confirm to me the promise he had some time ago made to his lordship, that I should succeed in the government of York; his majesty did it very willingly, without the least hesitation, and gave me his hand to kiss upon the same; saying, he was convinced how well I deserved of him.

On the 12th of October, I returned again to London, and the next day my Lord Hallifax told me, that Lord Shaftsbury had written to the king, that if he would be pleased to free him from his confinement, he would engage to go to Carolina, never more to return

into England; but that the king had rejected his request, and determined to leave him to the law. He also told me, that were it not for the interest the king of France had here, he did not doubt but he should be able to put England into a very happy state and condition in a very short time. That there was no hopes of doing any thing by way of parliament, except his majesty should make some new attempt upon Flanders, and that such an incident might be made use of as a handle whereby to reconcile all differences.

Such an opportunity offered itself soon after, that news came the French king had taken Strasburgh; whereby becoming master of the Rhine, he might intercept all communication and commerce between the Low Countries and Germany; so that the Netherlands would be absolutely obliged to bend the knee to France, if we did not enter into a league with them against the common adversary, which they did most earnestly solicit. But our king could lend them no helping hand, without a parliament to supply him with money; and what distress his majesty laboured under as to that was sufficiently understood, particularly by France, who determined not to slip the advantage; so that what my Lord Hallifax expected, from such an occurrence, proved to be all a delusion.

On the evening of the 20th of this month, his majesty talked to me a great while, in St. James's Park, and at the Duchess of Portsmouth's; his discourse ran chiefly upon the late unequal verdicts and proceedings of the juries of London and Middlesex; concerning which he broke out into this expression, "it is a hard "case that I am the last man to have law and justice "in the whole nation."

His majesty went to see a new ship launched at Deptford: he went in his barge, and I waited on him to the water side, he saw me, and called me in. The *gentleman who* was appointed to the command of her,

gave a great dinner to the king, where his majesty commanded all the gentlemen to sit down at the same table. He was more than usually serious that day, and seemingly under a greater weight of thought, than had been observed of him on account of the most important business.

On the 4th of November, I went to pay a visit to Lord Danby, still a prisoner in the Tower: who, by the drift of his discourse, was not in charity with the then ministers, seemingly reflecting on them as too favourably inclined towards Lord Shaftsbury, and so on. Two days afterwards I acquainted my Lord Hallifax with this; to which his answer was, that people were mighty ready with their judgments and decisions; but that if the fact were even as suggested, what could the king do better than set him at liberty? that he had as good be enlarged upon terms, as by a jury which would most assuredly acquit him were he brought to a trial, though ever so deep in guilt; and that were he out, he could not do the king so much harm, as such an act of mercy and popularity would do him good. The same day, one of the under secretaries told me, the king was resolved to prosecute him to the utmost, and that there was no want of very sufficient matter against him.

But before we come to the issue of such his majesty's resolution, it may not be amiss to observe by the way, that my Lord Hallifax, being by no means a friend to France, was upon no good footing with the Duchess of Portsmouth; which gave the king some trouble, as it proved a hindrance to the currency of his affairs; wherefore he sought to reconcile them, which he did, outwardly, on the 20th; as for a thorough and hearty resolution, it was impossible, their views being in such direct opposition to each other as they were.

On the 23d, pursuant to the king's resolution that Lord Shaftsbury should take his trial, a commission of

Oyer and Terminer was issued out for that purpose, and the most capital articles of his accusation having been committed in London, the jury was there returned for the finding of the bill, and though a paper was produced, containing no less than matter of high treason, which was sworn to have been found among the papers, in his closet, by a secretary of state, yet such were the times, that the grand jury brought in their verdict—*ignoramus*.

On the 28th, in consequence of this, he was enlarged, but because the rabble in the city had lighted bonfires on the day the jury acquitted him, the justices of London and Middlesex had now strict orders to prevent the like tumultuous doings. Now there were those who, considering how nearly Lord Hallifax was related to Shaftsbury, imagined his lordship was not grieved that the latter was no longer a prisoner; and indeed what made me, among others, bend a little this way, was that waiting on his lordship a little early, I found one of my lord Shaftsbury's gentlemen with him. But his lordship denied it all very seriously to me, and said he would ere long convince the world of their mistake.

It being customary with the king, when he returned from his walk before dinner, to discourse with the foreign ministers, who usually attend to meet him in the anti-chamber, he did it next day on the subject of the hard measure dealt to him by Lord Shaftsbury's jury; and it fell to my lot to explain several things in French relating to the matter in hand. A few days afterwards, (Dec. 4,) his majesty declared his displeasure against the Duke of Monmouth, upon several accounts, but especially for not having offered to be bail for Shaftsbury. The next day he made the Duke of Richmond his master of the horse, and gave one of the regiments of foot guards to the Duke of Grafton. And on the 7th, the king, to comply with the nature of the times, *for it was shrewdly* suspected he was not in earnest, sent

for the justices of Middlesex to appear before him in council, where he gave them a severe reprimand, for that they were so remiss in their inquiry after the number of papists, and so backward to prosecute them. He spoke not himself, but did it by the lord chancellor, and ordered them to be more vigilant, mindful, and active for the time to come.

The same day, having been to visit the Duchess of Portsmouth, my Lord Hallifax took me home with him from Whitehall. On the way, I acquainted him that the general report was, that his lordship opposed the Duke of York's interest with the king, and his return from Scotland, which his highness most urgently pressed. His reply was, that it was well if the duke's overhastiness did not turn to his disadvantage; that his highness had a sort of hungry servants about him, who were eternally pressing for his return, nor would ever let him be at rest, till, with a view to their own interest, they put their master upon what might prove much to their prejudice. And true it is, that whilst his highness was near the king's person, every body believed his majesty to be principally swayed and actuated by his advice; and consequently that popish counsels were then uppermost; whereas he did a great deal of good in Scotland, by keeping a watchful eye over that mutinous kingdom. But the papists, and others, his highness's creatures, pretended he was kept in Scotland that his enemies might the more easily work him out of his brother's good opinion; and that the ministers might have the king all to themselves, and guide him according to their own will and pleasure. Upon this Lord Hallifax observed there was great partiality in the judgment of men; for that in common justice they ought to take as much notice of things that were managed for the duke's advantage, as of what seemed to be otherwise: that, for instance, no body had commended the ministers for getting the Duke of Richmond to be master of the

horse in preference to the Duke of Monmouth; though it must prove a great obstacle to his return to the king's person, and though most evident it was that no greater service could be done to his highness, than to keep the Duke of Monmouth from court.

About this time I had a view of going envoy to Denmark, but to waive that, on the 4th of January, 1681-2, I carried a gentleman, one Mr. Grant, a leader of the fanatic party, to wait on my Lord Hallifax. He acquainted his lordship with the double dealings of some great men at court against him, who had been particularly instrumental in exasperating the commons against him in the late parliaments; which my lord took as a piece of service done, as it would put him upon his guard against the same men for the future. At the same time I conducted a gentleman to my lord, to ask his pardon for some things he had been reported to have said against his lordship. In good policy, we ought to suffer no man to be our enemy, if we can possibly avoid it; but such was his lordship's natural disposition, that, in the whole course of my life, I never knew a man more ready, at all times, to forgive, and shall never forget his expression upon this occasion, "Sir, if you did not say the words I am very glad of it, and even if you did, I am glad you find cause to be of another mind." In a private conversation I, at the same time, had with his lordship, he told me, that the people about the Duke of York made him mad; that there was scarce one of them that had a grain of sense; and intimated that a parliament could not be far off.

The next day I went to see Lord Danby in the Tower; he told me Lord Sunderland was ever railing at Lord Hallifax, though his brother-in-law; and observing him to express some satisfaction thereat, I presumed to remonstrate to him, that being a friend to both, I could wish, now that he was a prisoner, he *would forget all* occasion of animosity against a gentle-

man in such high power, as my Lord Hallifax; for that when a parliament should be called, his lordship might stand in need of his assistance, and the good offices of his friends.

On the 11th of this month, the king gave audience to an ambassador from Morocco, who was admitted with more than ordinary form, the king being of opinion that a commerce established between that empire and his kingdom, might prove of considerable profit to us, especially as we had so opportune a place on that continent as Tangiers. The ambassador's present to the king consisted of two lions, and thirty ostriches, at which his majesty laughed, and said, "he knew nothing more proper to send by way of return than a flock of geese."

On the 22d, I happened to dine with Lord Lumley, at Lord Feversham's, when the former declared he had speedy intentions of resigning his post of master of the horse to the queen, which he had hitherto enjoyed independently of the master of the horse to the king. But it seems the Duchess of Portsmouth had prevailed with the king to alter his patent, and to make him an officer under the Duke of Richmond, contrary to his promise. The duchess was certainly sometimes to blame, in things of this nature; for to display her power with the king, which indeed was great, and to express her friendship to some, she would often persuade the king to break his engagements with others, which was not for his honour. And yet his majesty was not, at this time, thought to be charmed with her bed, it being generally believed he had not lain with her, since he was at Newmarket, at least four months before. I also heard, this day, that one of the three ministers was endeavouring at a reconciliation with a great man who was no friend to my Lord Hallifax; and immediately warning his lordship thereof, he thanked me, and told me the information would be of good use to him.

On the 28th, we had advice that infinite damage had been done to Ostend, Antwerp, and the circum-adjacencies, by the most dreadful inundation that had ever been known. That Holland had suffered most prodigiously by the flood, that the greatest part of Zealand was under water, and that several towns and villages had been swept away with all their inhabitants, and that, according to computation, it would require an expence of ten millions sterling to make good the loss. The levels also in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire were laid under water by the same fate; the incessant rains of this season having been the cause thereof.

And now the great point in expectation was, whether there would be a parliament called or not, the ministers of state being divided as to the thing. My Lord Hallifax argued, that all christendom was desirous of it, France only excepted, and that nothing could be offered to discountenance it at home, but the fear they might touch upon high points, which if they did, his majesty might dismiss or dissolve them, just as he pleased, and convince the world that it was their fault and not his, and evince that he endeavoured to give his people satisfaction by the means of frequent parliaments. That if the king and the parliament agreed, his majesty would thereby gain the grand points of being united at home, and formidable abroad. But some, as Seymour and Hyde, were against the motion, more for their own sakes, than any body's else.

On the 12th of February was perpetrated the most barbarous and audacious murder that almost ever had been heard of in England. Mr. Thynn, a gentleman of 9000*l.* per annum, and lately married to Lady Ogle, who repenting herself of the match, fled from him into Holland before they were bedded, was set upon by three ruffians, who shot him as he was going along the street in his coach. This unhappy gentleman being much engaged in the Duke of Monmouth's cause, it was feared

that party might put some violent construction on this accident, the actors therein making their escape just for the time, and being unknown. I happened to be at court that evening, when the king hearing the news, seemed greatly concerned at it, not only for the horror of the action itself, which was shocking to his natural disposition, but also for fear the turn the anticourt party might give thereto. I left the court, and was just stepping into bed, when Mr. Thynn's gentleman came to me to grant him an hue and cry, and immediately at his heels comes the Duke of Montague's page, to desire me to come to him at Mr. Thynn's lodging, sending his coach for me, which I made use of accordingly. I there found his grace surrounded with several lords and gentlemen, Mr. Thynn's friends, and Mr. Thynn himself mortally wounded with five shot from a blunderbuss. I on the spot granted several warrants against persons suspected to have had a hand therein, and that night got some intelligence concerning the actors themselves. At length, by the information of a chairman, who had carried one of the ruffians from his lodging at Westminster to the Black Bull, there to take horse, and by means of a loose woman, who used to visit the same person, the constables found out the place of his abode, and there took his man, by nation a Swede, who being brought before me, confessed himself a servant to a German captain, who had told him he had a quarrel with Mr. Thynn, and had often ordered him to watch his coach; and that particularly that day the captain no sooner understood the coach to be gone by, than he booted himself, and with two others, a Swedish lieutenant and a Pole, went on horseback, as he supposed, the next day, in quest of Mr. Thynn. By the same servant, I also understood, where possibly the captain and his two companions were to be found; and having with the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Mordaunt, and others, searched several houses, as he

directed us, till six in the morning, and having been in close pursuit all night, I personally took the captain in the house of a Swedish doctor in Leicester Fields. I went first into his room, followed by Lord Mordaunt, where I found him in bed, with his sword at some distance from him on the table; his weapon I in the first place secured, and then his person, committing him to two constables. I wondered he should make so tame a submission, for he was certainly a man of great courage, and appeared quite unconcerned from the very beginning, though he was very certain he should be found the chief actor in the tragedy. This gentleman had, not long before, commanded the forlorn hope, at the siege at Mons, when but two, besides himself, of fifty under his command, escaped with life; and, in consideration of this service, the Prince of Orange made him a lieutenant of his guards, and, in reward for the same, the King of Sweden gave him a troop of horse: but to insist no farther on this, his two accomplices also were taken, and brought to my house, where, before I could finish the several examinations I had to go through, the king sent for me to attend him in council, for that purpose, with the prisoners and papers. His majesty ordered me to give him an account of the proceedings hitherto, as well with regard to the apprehending of the prisoners, as their examination, and then examined them himself; and when the council rose, ordered me to put every thing into writing, and in form, against the trial; which took me up a great part of the day, though I had got one of the clerks of the council, and another justice of the peace to assist me, both for the sake of dispatch and my own security, the nicety of the affair requiring it, as will, in the sequel, appear.

On the 15th, the council met again, among other things, to examine the governor of young Count *Coningsmark*, a young gentleman then in Mr. Foubert's

academy in London, and supposed to be privy to the murder. Upon this occasion, the king sent for me, to attend in council, where the said governor confessing, that the eldest Count Coningsmark, who had been in England some months before, and made his addresses to the lady who so unfortunately married Mr. Thynn, arrived incognito ten days before the said murder, and lay disguised till it was committed, gave great cause to suspect that the count was at the bottom of this bloody affair; and his majesty ordered me thereupon to go and search his lodgings, which I did with two constables, but the bird was flown; he went away betimes in the morning of the day after the deed was perpetrated; of which I immediately gave the king an account.

I several times afterwards attended on the king, both in private and in council, from time to time, to give him information, as fresh matter occurred, or appeared; and upon the whole it was discovered, partly by the confession of the parties concerned, and partly by the information of others, that the German captain had been for eight years an intimate with Count Coningsmark, one of the greatest men in the kingdom of Sweden, his uncle being at that time governor of Pomerania, and near upon marrying the king's aunt; and moreover that during the time he was in England before, he had made his addresses to Lady Ogle, the only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Northumberland, who had been married to the deceased Mr. Thynn, and that the said count had resented something as an affront from Mr. Thynn: that the captain moved thereto out of pure friendship to the count, though not at all with his privity, as pretended, had determined within himself to revenge his cause, and that in consequence of such his resolution the murder happened: it appeared also, that such his cruel design was furthered by the assistance of the Swedish lieutenant, and the Pole who had been by him obliged to discharge the

blunderbuss into the coach. I was extremely glad that in this whole business there was no English person directly or indirectly concerned; for the fanatics had buzzed it about that the design was chiefly against the Duke of Monmouth; so that I had the king's thanks more than once, the thanks of my Lord Hallifax, and several others, for my diligence in tracing out the true springs and motives of this horrid action, as well as the actors themselves. The Duke of Monmouth had been out of the coach above an hour, and, by the confession of the criminals, I found they were not to have made the attempt if his grace had been with Mr. Thynn.

Mean while it was suspected that Count Coningsmark was still in the kingdom; and search being made after him, he was met with alone in disguise at Gravesend, by a servant of the Duke of Monmouth's, just as he was stepping out of a sculler, intending the very next day to embark on board of a Swedish ship. Being brought up to town, the king immediately called an extraordinary council to examine him. I was present upon this occasion, and observed that he appeared before the king with all the assurance imaginable. He was a fine person of a man, and I think his hair was the longest I ever saw. He was very quick of parts, but his examination was very superficial, for which reason he was by the king and council ordered to be, the same day, examined by the lord chief justice, the attorney general, and myself, but he confessed nothing of the murder, pretending the reason why he lay at this time concealed, to be that he was then under cure for a small venereal disaster, and did not care to appear in public, till the course of his prescription was over; and that his going away in disguise after the fact was committed, was by the advice of friends, who told him it would reflect on him should it be known he was in England, when an intimate of his laboured under so *violent a sus*picion of having committed so black a

deed; and that he endeavoured to make his escape, not knowing how far the laws of this land might for that very reason involve him in the guilt. But being at the king's couchée on the 21st, I perceived by his majesty's discourse, that he was willing the count should get off.

On the 26th, Mons. Foubert who kept the academy in London, came and desired me to put him in a way how to save Count Coningsmark's life, insinuating to me, that as he was a man of vast fortune, he could not make a better use of it than to support his own innocence, and shield himself from the edge of the law, in a strange country. I told him, that if the count was really innocent, the law would naturally acquit him, as much though a foreigner as if he was a native; but that he ought to be cautious how he made any offers to pervert justice; for that it were to make all men of honour his enemies, instead of gaining them to be his friends. This was one of the first bribes of value ever offered to me, which I might have accepted without any danger of discovery, and without doing much for it: but my opinion has always been that what is so acquired is no addition to our store, but rather the cause of its waste, according to the saying, *Male parta male delabuntur;* I therefore rejected this now as I had done others before, and as I hope I shall always do for the time to come.

Bills being found at Hick's Hall against the three murderers of Mr. Thynn, as principal, and against the count as accessary; they the next day made their appearance at the Old Bailey, where, after a trial which lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, and a very vigorous prosecution on the part of Mr. Thynn's relations, the three were brought in guilty as principals, and the count by the same jury acquitted as not accessary; it being *per medietatem linguæ*, according to the privilege of strangers. I was the

first that carried the news of this to the king, who seemed to be not at all displeased at it; but the duke of Monmouth's party, who all appeared to add weight to the prosecution, were extremely dissatisfied that the count had so escaped.

On the 10th of March, the captain, and the other two, his accomplices in the murder of Mr. Thynn, were, pursuant to their sentence, hanged in the street where they had perpetrated the crime. The captain died without any the least symptom of fear, or offering at the least glance of reflection on Count Coningsmark; and seeing me in my coach as he passed by in the cart, he made a bow to me with the most steady countenance, as he did to several of the spectators he knew, before he was turned off; in short, his whole carriage, from the first moment he was apprehended, to the last that he resigned his breath, savoured much of gallantry, but not at all of religion.

Having thus concluded the history of this remarkable transaction, I shall only, by the way, observe that I was soon after appointed governor of York, in opposition to a strong and potent interest against me. On the 9th of May, I had a very long conversation with my good friend the Earl of Hallifax, who continued steady for a parliament; and expressed himself of opinion, that the duke had gained no great ascendant over the king, by his late journey into England, from whence he was now upon his return to Scotland; a journey quite disagreeable even to the king's own friends; and indeed he was chiefly persuaded to it by his servants, who gained by his being here.

The next day came news, that his highness had been in great danger of being cast away in his voyage back to the north, the ship he was in having struck upon Yarmouth sands, and that a great number of the passengers had been lost, a piece of news that was at first contradicted, but in a day or two confirmed by a

particular account, that the Glocester, a third rate, in which the Duke of York had embarked for Scotland, had actually suffered shipwreck upon one of Yarmouth sands, called the Lemon and Oar; and that the duke, with about an 160 persons were saved: among those that perished were the Lords O'Brian, and Roxborough, and Mr. Hyde, Lord Clarendon's brother.

Waiting on my Lord Hallifax, on the 22d of this month, he told me that the day before, being Sunday, the Duke of Monmouth came to him after prayers, and asked him if it was true that his lordship, as was reported, had advised the king in council, to issue out a proclamation to forbid every body from keeping him company: and that he had answered, that he was not obliged to satisfy him, whether he had so advised his majesty or not; and that the duke replied there would be no need of a proclamation to prevent him from keeping his lordship company, and that in another place he would have said more to him, and so went away.

It must be by all confessed that his grace in this acted a very imprudent part, for he must needs have known that his thus questioning a privy councillor concerning advice given by him at the board, would sound very harsh to the king: and, on the other hand, if his intentions were really for a quarrel, he might have chosen a more proper place, and have said more, or nothing at all. I offered to serve his lordship with my life upon this occasion; but he was so very good as to say, that if it came to a necessity of that sort, he would make use of somebody he did not esteem so much as he did me; but that, however, he did not think himself obliged to fight upon that account; though he should ever be ready to defend himself while he wore a sword by his side.

The next day a council was held at Hampton Court, where, as soon as it was up, his lordship told

me an order had been passed to this effect, "that "whereas the Duke of Monmouth had been guilty of "some threatening speeches to a member of that "board, in relation to something offered to his "majesty in council; his majesty considered the same "as an unmannerly insolence towards himself; and "did therefore charge all his servants, and all such as "had dependence on him, not to keep company with, "or frequent the said Duke of Monmouth for the time "to come."

I had a conference with my Lord Hallifax on the 3d of June, wherein I observed to him, that he was too frank and open with some in business with him, and with others, who were well in the king's favour, and that they generally betrayed him: and desired him to keep himself more to himself if possible. He told me he was very sensible of the truth and importance of what I said, but continued, that he could not avoid the freedom I condemned in the course of business, and hoped his integrity would support him. At this time he gave me directions how to behave in the north, but they were such as in common political prudence must be here suppressed.

And now I retired to my government of York, where, though many transactions were pretty remarkable, they are of too private and particular a nature to be here enumerated; I shall therefore only observe, that the city of York had been more noted than most places in England, for the height and virulence of faction, but that after I had been there some time, finding some of the leaders willing to abate of their warmth, I engaged myself in some private discourse with Mr. Alderman Ramsden, one of the most extraordinary of the whole fraternity, and so well explained to him the danger they were in, if they did not shew some speedy signs of remorse and repentance for their former behaviour, that he confessed himself sensible of

Walter L. Colls Ph. &c.

York.

From an old print

errors committed upon several occasions, (viz.) in that they had so often persisted in their choice of such members as they knew to be quite ungrateful to the king; in that they had so handsomely received the Duke of York when he passed through their city, in his way to Scotland; and in that they had petitioned for a parliament, but never addressed or abhorred: but that after all he was afraid their offences were too enormous to be pardoned, upon a consideration less than the surrender of their charter, which they did not know how to think of. I then asked him what he thought the city might be persuaded to do by way of some atonement: to which he answered, they might be brought to do three things, if they might be accepted. First, to lay aside Alderman Thompson, a peevish antimonarchial fellow, to whom it fell of course to be lord mayor the next year, provided his majesty would, by letter, command them so to do. Secondly, to chuse a new high steward, and to offer the honour to his royal highness, in lieu of the Duke of Buckingham, whom they would put out, or in case his highness should refuse it, to his Lordship of Hallifax; and thirdly, to elect better members for that city, when occasion should offer. These three things, he said, were feasible, might they be thought sufficient.

I immediately gave notice of this our conversation to my lord, now Marquis of Hallifax, who, on the 22d of August, sent me for answer, that though he approved of the setting aside of Thompson from being lord mayor, he could by no means think it safe to venture the king's letter upon it, to the corporation, except the success of the attempt were actually certain; and especially as things were in so very fair a way above, particularly with regard to the *quo warranto* against the city charter, which, if it succeeded, every other corporation would be obliged to truckle; and that

should the king's letter meet with the proposed effect, it would rebound back again upon the court, and be an encouragement to the other party. That as for their chusing his highness to be their high steward, he judged it improper and unfit upon many accounts; and as for himself, he was willing to put himself upon the issue of what they proposed, provided it did not seem to be his own request, and that it should appear he had a considerable number of friends and well-wishers therein, though the event itself should not answer: such was the substance of what he returned.

On the 10th of January, 1682, his lordship advised me to come to London, where he had some things to tell me, which it would be more proper to communicate near at hand, than at such a distance. In consequence of which I repaired to our capital the month following, where being arrived, his lordship was pleased to acquaint me with the whole of a late dispute he had had with my Lord Hyde, now Earl of Rochester, and first lord commissioner of the treasury. His lordship had informed the king of 40,000*l.* of his hearth-money, which had been misapplied to some private use or uses Lord Rochester could not but know of, and was much suspected to share in; together with some miscarriages and mismanagement of the revenue, which, it seems, nobody but his lordship had the courage to expose to the king. He told me also he had lately brought in Lord Sunderland to be secretary of state, by engaging the Duke of York in his behalf; and that now his highness seemed to be kinder to that lord, who had laboured all he could against him in the late parliaments, than to himself, who had done all he could to serve him, and who had particularly made the most considerable head against the bill of exclusion; and touched upon some hard returns and disappointments of the same kind, from the same quarter. But still his lordship was well with the king, it was in no degree

in their power to remove him, though they combined their whole strength to effect it: and indeed I had reason to know how large an influence he had over his majesty; for to him it was wholly owing that I sat still in my government of York.

A few days afterwards, his lordship told me of some hard usage he had met with from Lord Rochester, contrary to their mutual engagements, in favour of each other, upon his first entering into business; and that having obtained a promise to be lord president, or lord privy seal, as a vacancy of either should first fall out, which happened to be of the seal, Lord Rochester had behind the curtain done all in his power for Mr. Seymour; that upon this occasion he had been raised to the dignity of marquis, which he had never desired, with a view to make him amends for the seal; but that not declining the one or the other he had obtained both; and that thereupon Seymour had left the court. That however, the king commanding it, he was willing to be upon good terms with his lordship, but that he must give him some sufficient assurance that he was more a friend to him than to Sunderland, ere he could repose any degree of confidence in him. That in the mean time he would keep in his corner, and be attentive to whatever might be for the king's service, and not be afraid to acquaint his majesty with what might be for his majesty's disadvantage, whoever were the actors or transactors; and in fine, that when he had power, he should be careful to distinguish those who were his friends, from those who were not so.

Now the affair of the forty thousand pounds, said to have been lost to the king, upon his hearth-money, and charged upon Lord Rochester, and the other lords commissioners of the treasury, came to be argued by council on both sides, before the king; and it plainly appeared that the king was actually so much a loser; but such was the interest that Lord Rochester, supported

as he was by the Duke of York, Duchess of Portsmouth, and Lord Sunderland, had with his majesty, that little or no notice of the fraud was taken at that time: except of some of that lord's friends having taken the liberty to censure Lord Hallifax, as too busy in making the discovery, the king justified him so far as to say openly that day, in court, upon the trial, that his lordship had done nothing in the whole affair, but by his order and approbation. My Lord Hallifax told me this was not the only matter that would appear, as to the ill management of the royal revenue, and observed that the anticourt party courted him at such a rate, that he feared it might create a jealousy elsewhere.

A few days afterwards his lordship told me the duke made it his business to clear himself from having had any concern on either side, for the fraud on the one hand, and the discovery on the other, were the general talk of the town, but that his highness should apply to him, before he would apply to his highness. He told me also, that he had, the day before, been with the king, and that he was two hours in private with him; and that he had observed to his majesty, that a report was spread as if Lord Rochester was to have the lord high treasurer's staff delivered to him; but that he was in hopes there was no such intention, for that it would be a great reflection upon himself, and look as if his majesty thought he had done wrong to the man whom he immediately so favoured; and that his majesty should say, "the man should not be lord treasurer the sooner for what he had lately done as Lord Rochester; and that his majesty was angry with him for giving ear to so groundless a rumour."

On the 28th of February, Lord Hallifax told me the duke had assured him, he was not in the least concerned in the difference between him and Lord Rochester; and *that* he had replied, he was sure his highness could wish *him no ill, and that* if he did, he should never do any

thing to oppose him, but that in such a case he should not be able to serve him with that zeal he could wish, and that his highness might possibly repent he had lost his service to the degree he desired to use it for him: that he had done no more than he had been by the king commanded to do, and that there was no man in the kingdom so great that he could be decently displeased with what was done at the king's command; that he perceived they, meaning Rochester, had a mind to rid their hands of him, and that it was likely they might endeavour to make him uneasy in his station, but that he would take care they should not remove him, first, because he would stay with the king to be ready to serve him, and secondly, because he had a mind to disappoint those who so earnestly longed for his absence: that his whole view had been to save the king money, and that he knew no greater service that could be done to his highness, if he would but be pleased to look a little before him into futurity: that the king indeed had made him a greater man than he deserved to be, but that he had this to say for himself, he was a gentleman, and that his highness ought in justice to have some consideration for those that bore escutcheons, as well as for those that had none; some of the duke's creatures were scarce gentlemen; and that for his part he should never say any thing to his highness but truth, which though, at first sight, it might look a little plain and homely, nothing at the bottom carried with it a greater fund of respect, and much more to the same effect. That to this his highness made answer, that what his lordship had said seemed to be very rational, that he was sensible of great obligations he had to him, and that he never would forget them, but serve him in all he was able, and that so his lordship should find.

His lordship also told me, the same day, that he had been with my Lady Duchess of Portsmouth, and that,

among other discourse, he told her, he found that in case he should stand in need of his majesty's favour, he was not to expect many friends on that side of Whitehall; and that she made answer, that some who had been very much his friends, meaning Rochester, came thither sometimes, and that she hoped they would be as much his friends again: that to this he replied, he was in much doubt as to her intercession, and good offices, in such a strait, but hoped he should avoid the danger of making use thereof; and took notice that she thereupon blushed, and seemed to be in some confusion. His lordship further said, that were he quite as young as he had been, he might be as well with her as others; but upon this I observed, that his lordship ought to have been furnished with a good purse as well as something else that began with the same letter; for so, report said, Lord Danby kept intelligence so long and so great with her.

The court and the whole town were infinitely divided as to the dispute between the two lords. Those who had any dependance on payments out of the exchequer, durst not but be on the side of Lord Rochester: but all sober and serious persons, who were independent, and wished well to the government, applauded the integrity, the zeal, and the courage, of the lord privy seal, who would not see so great a sum of the king's money misapplied, and was so honestly bold as to complain, though he was sure he should thereby raise a number of violent enemies against him; and particularly the whigs, as they now called the anticourt party, were lavish of their commendations, not only on account of the discovery, but in hopes this great man might, by this quarrel, be brought to a cooler degree of moderation.

In the midst of this, on the 20th of March, all christendom seemed to be in danger of being involved in a bloody war, the rebels of Hungary having called

in the Turk to assist them against the emperor, and one or two excepted, all the princes of the empire, and the kings of Spain and Sweden, preparing to defend the empire against the Turk on the one hand, and the French king, likely to fall upon Flanders, or some of the princes of Germany, on the other: while we sat at ease amidst the blessings and plenty of a peace, which it was thought would be lasting, because of the death of the busy and factious Shaftsbury, not long before retired into Holland.

Going with my lord privy seal, to take the air, in Hyde Park, he told me he hoped I was sorry he pressed me to come up to London, seeing I could not so well have been made acquainted with the state of affairs at such a distance as York: that it was uncertain how long he should be able to keep his station, driven at so fiercely as he was by some, but that he imagined he had the king to his friend, and could not conceive he would part with him for no other fault than the having obeyed his commands; but says he, if we fall again under the influence of French councils, I shall fairly quit, there being greater endeavours against me on the other side of the water than on this; and desired me when I got into the country again, to turn the report of his disgrace into raillery, till he should give me notice of his retreat, which he would early do, if he found it unavoidable.

Two days afterwards, I went to see Lord Danby in the Tower, and found him to express himself much more obligingly towards lord privy seal, than he had been used to do heretofore; among other things, he said his lordship had taken a prudent and becoming course in declaring himself for a parliament, and that he was very glad of it upon a private account; for that he despaired of being enlarged till there was a sitting. He said, Lord Rochester and his party might support themselves for a while, but that the interest they built upon was no better than a sandy foundation.

The next day I communicated this to Lord Hallifax, who on his part seemed also to be more favourably inclined towards Lord Danby, than he had for some time been: he said he had already enemies enough, and that what he had to say against that lord was now out of his mind; but that however he would not now make himself enemies by being his friend, as he had formerly done by being otherwise; so that I found lord privy seal was making up his interest on the one hand, as Lord Rochester was on the other, for the latter had sent for Seymour to court, and promised to be his friend. Lord Privy Seal told me that Seymour had made some advances to close with him, and that a general reconciliation was endeavouring on the part of Rochester's friends. I told his lordship, that, in my poor opinion, he had much better stand by himself, now that he had possessed himself of the interest of the nation, by the means of what he had done, in opposition to Lord Rochester; that if he closed in with that side again, he might run the hazard of losing the good opinion of his country, which he now so deservedly enjoyed, whereas if he kept himself separate, he might be master of both the one and the other; and that in case he should fall, the king would soon be sensible of such a want of him, that he could not long be spared from court. To this his lordship replied, it would be matter of great difficulty for him to stay there with men, whose interest it was to remove him. That they would be apt to play him tricks, knowing that while he was in any play, their carriage and conduct would be no secrets to his majesty; but that if they did engross the king all to themselves they would not long keep their hold; for that the king had one quality which would always preserve him from being long in ill hands, meaning his facility to hear all persons, and to admit of all informations from a back door, while the favourites did not in the least dream of

such his attention. His lordship then lamented the prodigious influence the Duchess of Portsmouth had over the king, complaining that she betrayed him not in his councils only, but his bed also, and that she certainly lay with the grand prior of France, who often came over, under the mask of love, the better and more effectually to transmit intelligence and information to his master the French king. He urged it that the king was too passive with regard to these things, and observed it as his greatest fault, that no argument could prevail on him to resent what he clearly saw he ought to resent, and that he descended too low from the sublime elevation of his dignity. His lordship then took notice, that I also, in my station, was the subject of much envy, and advised me, when I returned again into the country, to demean myself so as to gain as great a measure of favour and benevolence as I decently could.

Upon the whole, I perceived that the lord privy seal had the better and more approved cause, and that the Lord Rochester had the more potent and over-ruling interest; that the lord privy seal deservedly weighed with the body of the nation, and that the Lord Rochester weighed, though undeservedly enough, only with the Duke of York, the Duchess of Portsmouth, my Lord of Ormond, and others at court, who depended upon his majesty's purse, which laboured the distribution of Lord Rochester. In short the fear was, that the diligence of those so near the king might prevail on him to abandon the lord privy seal, who depended upon himself only, upon no interest but his own, and upon the merit, which was certainly great, of the important services he had already done, and was best able for the future to do for the crown; and here we put a period to this year.

In April, 1683, I returned to York, and heard that city had chosen the Duke of Richmond to be their high

steward, which I was not sorry to understand, as their affairs then stood, my lord privy seal having declined that honour for the sake of the Duke of Buckingham, who was to be put out before another could be admitted. The duchess took this very kindly, and upon receiving the patent for that office, which the city presented to the young duke in a gold box, her grace sent my lord mayor a letter of thanks, wherein she said the king was very well pleased that the second city in England had had that regard for her son, and assured him and the corporation of her utmost services. But the Duke of Buckingham took it extremely ill of them, on the other hand, and wrote them such a letter, as might easily convince them of it. The Duke of Buckingham being well with the lord privy seal, I was at some loss to know how to steer between the divided interests, but I hope I did it in such a manner as to give offence to neither.

On the 26th of June following, we were alarmed with a report of a dangerous conspiracy against the king, of such as had been disappointed of preferments at court, and of protestant dissenters. The same conspiracy was also against the Duke of York, and the design was to have shot both his majesty and his highness as they came from Newmarket, the day of their return being fixed. This was to have been executed by forty men, who, the blow given, were to have scoured to London, and to have reported it to have been done by the papists. In London it was said there were a body of men ready to rise, and to take immediate possession of the city and Tower, and consequently of the whole nation, and that the Duke of Monmouth was ready to head the insurrection.

This was miraculously defeated by a fire which burned down a great part of the town of Newmarket, and caused the king's departure from thence ten days sooner than was at first intended. The design thus

frustrated, it was afterward renewed to kill the two royal brothers as they came from Hampton Court, but the king being alone, they postponed it, their view being to destroy both or neither. These and the like disappointments put it into the head of one of the melancholy conspirators, that God, to use his own phrase, was against them, which wrought on him to disclose the whole affair, and he accordingly did. Upon this, many of the conspirators and abettors withdrew; the Duke of Monmouth fled, Lord Grey made his escape after he had been taken, but Sir Thomas Armstrong was apprehended and committed to the Tower, together with the Earl of Essex, the Lord Howard of Eskrick, Lord Russel, and many others; and orders were sent down, to us in the north, to keep a watchful eye, and a ready hand over all suspicious persons, and particularly to look out for one Mr. Goodenough, and one Mr. Nelthorp, who were supposed to have made their way towards us. By some Scotchmen we intercepted and examined, we understood this conspiracy to have been general with the fanatics and discontented in both kingdoms, and that the correspondence was carried on between them, by the Scotch pedlars, and other emissaries in disguise, which caused great scrutiny and search to be made and observed with regard to all such people from the north: but to dwell on the particulars of this plot, and the proofs made out against those who suffered for it, were needless, after what has been said and recorded by many both privately and publickly concerning it; so I shall only say, that in the conclusion it proved fatal to Lord Russel, the eldest son and heir to the Earl of Bedford, and others of more inferior note.

While we were labouring under the terrors of the late conspiracy, uncertain to what degree it might extend, and what might be the future purpose and resolution of the desperate people concerned, the rest

of Christendom was in some seeming danger of being overspread by the Turk, and now, more than ever, under the apprehensions of such a catastrophe, the common enemy having for some time laid close siege to Vienna, and reduced that capital to great extremities. But at length it was relieved on the 12th of August, by the fortunate valour of the King of Poland, assisted principally by the Duke of Lorraine, the emperor's general, and partly by the electors of Saxony and Bavaria: but the bare mention of this being as much as can be required of my hands, I shall return to the posture and current of our own affairs.

In October, I had a letter from my Lord Hallifax, to acquaint me that I had the king's leave to come to town, which I had desired, as thinking it to be necessary I should be near the king's person, at a time when I thought he would be taking of new measures and making of new regulations, with regard to affairs in general, and officers in particular, for his own and the nation's greater security, after the late horrid machinations: accordingly I set out the latter end of this month for London, where I arrived in November.

I went to visit my lord privy seal, and found him still rooted in the king's good esteem; but that the duke was not altogether so grateful to him as he ought to have been. I found also, that the differences between his lordship and Lord Rochester not only subsisted still, but with more acrimony and warmth than before; and understood that the lord mayor of York was sent for up, by an order of council, on account of some words he had spoken. The king received me very graciously, and the duke seemed kind to me, nor did my Lord Rochester, whom I visited, scruple to favour me with a decent reception.

But I found the hopes of a parliament to be still at a very great distance, though Flanders was in danger of *falling next spring* under the yoke of France, and

though the nation was much dissatisfied at the tedious delay, that part of the nation, I mean, that was in opposition to the French interest. And just now it happened that the grand prior of France being in England, and observed to be very fond of the Duchess of Portsmouth, and she of him, the king conceived so great a jealousy thereat, he sent him away; and it was shrewdly suspected the Duchess would not be long behind him, which few people seemed to be sorry for.

I had heard, from a great man, that something would shortly happen very much to the mortification of the Duke of York and his party, a mystery which seemed in a few days afterwards to be explained. The Duke of Monmouth being suspected to have taken refuge somewhere abroad, on account of the conspiracy, surrenders himself to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, at Whitehall, where the thing being before concerted, the king and duke went to him, and, after an hour's discourse, suffered him to go to his lodgings at the cockpit, attended by his own servants, and under no other restraint than that of a serjeant at arms; but what was said or done at this interview, may be conjectured sooner than known.

This was matter of surprise to all people, and waiting on lord privy seal, he told me, he doubted not but the Duke of Monmouth's affair, his grace having that day kissed the king's hand, the duke's, and the queen's, would be the subject of great speculation, and that various guesses would be made as to the intercession that brought it to pass. I told him the world said the Duchess of Portsmouth, and Lord Sunderland had done it, and that it was publicly known that the king had the day before in council said, it was at the request of the Duke of York, to whom his grace had made submission, and disclaimed all competition with for the crown. His lordship answered, that the thing was far from so, for that the Duke of York and those in his

interest, had opposed it to the very last; and thereupon owned himself to have been chiefly instrumental therein; and gave me several reasons, both public and private, though not proper to be here enumerated, why he laboured to that end. By this it plainly appeared to me, that notwithstanding the extraordinary strength of the interest combined against him, this noble lord had great power with his majesty. His lordship moreover gave me to understand that his grace had made confession of the late plot, but would not give any public evidence against the conspirators. But to dismiss this, certain it is that whoever wrought so industriously, with the king, in favour of the Duke of Monmouth, his majesty himself may be said to have had a large share therein. He had a paternal affection for him, nor could refrain from the most open and public expressions of it wherever he saw him; and the duke, on his part, paid all the respect and duty imaginable in attending upon, and following the king. Mean while the whole court began to discover, that though his highness of York seemed outwardly to agree to the Duke of Monmouth's readmission, it was by no means an act of choice, but of necessity, the king having declared he would have it so; and that he was not made privy to it above two days before it was effected.

The king had now conceived a displeasure against the city of York, and coming from the Duchess of Portsmouth's, on the 29th of November, he asked me, leaning upon my arm, if I knew sufficient matter for bringing a *quo warranto* against their charter. I told his majesty, I did not, but would endeavour to inform myself, but feared I could not so well do it at such a distance as if I was upon the spot: to which his majesty replied, "I only recommend it to you." The lord mayor it seems had refused to let a mountebank erect his stage in that city, though he was furnished *with the king*'s recommendation, which the man com-

plaining of, his majesty thought himself thereby slighted, or injured.

The lord mayor of York being arrived, came, on the 4th of December, to desire leave to make use of my name before the council, so far as to say, the governor knew how ready he was with his assistance upon occasion of the late plot, to which I gave my consent. I well knew that the Duke of York, who thought him accessary to his once ill reception in that city, wished in his heart the man might be punished; but I imagined I could not but in justice stand by him in what was right, and that I could not do amiss in carrying him to my lord privy seal, who gave him his promise to assist him at the board. I knew there was pique and malice in the complaint against him, and was in hopes it might be a means of making him a thorough convert, if he was but mercifully handled in this troublesome matter.

Being, the next day, at Lady Portsmouth's, the king told me there was fresh complaint against the lord mayor of York, and that he was afraid he was but a bad man. I said I was obliged to acquaint his majesty with this truth, that he was very ready to give me his assistance in York, upon the late dreadful occasion; but that I could say nothing in defence of what he might have committed since I left the place: to have done with this;

On the 6th of this month, the Duke of Monmouth, having obtained his pardon, refused to sign a public declaration of his knowledge of the late conspiracy against the king, for which he was ordered to keep from Whitehall. My Lord Privy Seal told me, the manner of doing this, as required, was something hard, but that his grace ought entirely to have submitted himself to the king's pleasure. His lordship, I found, was much concerned that the duke had been so obstinate, and he had reason to be so, being now deemed, as he was, the chief instrument that brought him into favour. The next day Mr. Algernon Sydney was executed upon

Tower Hill, as one of the conspirators, but said nothing before he suffered. He only left a paper with the sheriff, which I heard the king say was very treasonable and evasive, though not wholly negative of the fact laid to his charge; but, however, it was not thought proper to be printed. And now I found that the Duke of York was not at all pleased with the lord privy seal, though he made open shew of the contrary, for that he was not consulted on the restoration of the Duke of Monmouth; and it was his lordship's own expression, "that the duke would never forgive it him." But the king having been the chief promoter of it, it did not appear that his lordship had lost any ground with him. The Duke of Monmouth would not perform what was expected of him, and how could his lordship help it?

The confederates, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and the rest, who were now preparing to resist the French, and to preserve Flanders, were very angry with us, for that we still supinely persisted in our neutrality, and particularly the Spaniard, who said it was a breach of our league with him; but all remonstrances of this sort were to none effect; our king pretended his own affairs were in so ill a posture at home, that he could not so much as think of involving himself in a war; which confirmed the jealousy of our adhering to the French interest, and of a private commerce kept up with them, by the intervention of the Duchess of Portsmouth and others.

The talk of the town now was, that the Lord Privy Seal was not well with the king, and that at court he met with discouragements of such a nature, as to make him retire from business. I communicated this to his lordship, on the 11th, who told me, he had, indeed, met with discouragements from some, but none at all from the king, for that he was as well there as ever; and that *there would be* a farther production of affairs, in a little *time, than was* expected, and so pointed at the thing

that I easily guessed what he meant. A few days afterwards I was with the Duke of Albemarle, who told me he was sorry to find that lord privy seal, purely to outdo his antagonist Rochester, should have had so great a hand in bringing in Monmouth, and thereby have incurred the Duke of York's displeasure, as well as the dislike of a great number of the loyalists, who were before his friends. That, not many hours before, the duke had told him, that if the lord privy seal had had no friendship for him in any other capacity, yet, as being the king's brother, he might have let him into the secret, and not have brought in Monmouth quite without his privity: that indeed he never could forget what the lord privy seal had formerly done to serve him; but that he took a way, if possible, to make him forget it; and that to his knowledge, his lordship was still exerting his labours to reunite the king and Monmouth. The Duke of Albemarle then observed, that his highness knew his relation to the lord privy seal, but that the loyalty and respect he bore to his highness was more considered by him than all that, and that he hoped his lordship designed him no disservice in this affair, with much more to the same purpose; in short, his grace seemed much to lament what his lordship had done in favour of Monmouth. His grace added, that if the Privy Seal would but trust him, he would tell him how to be too hard for Rochester, without recurring to such unpopular methods.

On the 2d of January, I communicated the particulars of this conversation to his lordship, who answered, that he thereby perceived the duke had a mind to be upon better measures with him; but that, absolutely, he had not seen the Duke of Monmouth since he last left the court; that as to what he had done for his grace, it was purely in obedience to the king's commands; and that as the king would not allow him, it was impossible for him to have disclosed the matter to his highness; and

concluded, that he was to dine with the Duke of Albemarle the Wednesday following, and should the better know what to say to his grace, if he touched upon this affair, since I had taken care to apprise him of his thoughts.

I learnt from a great man, that we were in no way of having a parliament, there being some near the king, who advised him to another way of ruling the kingdom. The same gentleman, at the same time, lamented, that now the fanatics had nothing else to say against the government, they must have sufficient cause of complaint upon this account, as well as on account of several other points now in agitation. Some days afterwards, my lord privy seal told me, he had been very earnest with the king to call a parliament, and had represented to him, that though he had slipped the opportunity of calling one immediately after the late plot, when he could not possibly have failed of one according to his mind, and might fear he should meet with no good one now, he would do well to consider, that the longer he deferred the thing, the worse it would be, and indeed so very bad, that it might be used as an argument never to call one more. That nothing ought to have that weight with him, as his word given to the people; that the law required a parliament to be called every three years; and that, upon the last dissolution, his majesty had promised a religious observance of the laws, by a proclamation setting forth his reasons for dismissing that parliament; that the general construction put upon this was, that he intended to call another within the three years, and that he feared an ill use might be made of his not doing what it was so generally supposed he certainly would: that though the antimonarchists were now at a very low ebb, and under great discouragements, such his majesty's procedure might raise a spirit of discontent where it was least expected, meaning among those, who though they were friends to the

crown, were, at the same time, desirous he should govern according to law; ~~and not only desired, but expected it, since he had given his royal word, that~~ he would do so: ~~that if, however, his majesty thought not well of this, he would be nevertheless so far from relinquishing his service, that he would make it his study to find out excuses to make him easy with the~~ people. So then there was no possibility of seeing a parliament assembled, but by some compulsion from a foreign cause, and nobody could tell, but that if the war went on, the confederates might be provoked to declare against us.

In short, affairs were now chiefly under the management of the Duke of York, who carried every thing with a very lofty hand; but, what is very strange, the Earl of Danby was on the point of stepping out of the Tower, though against his highness's consent. My Lord Privy Seal assured me his enlargement was at hand; that he himself had been his lordship's chief friend, and that the king had made both the duke and Lord Rochester seemingly set their hands to it. The duke, indeed, appeared to be hearty in it, and that the king was so, there could be no doubt; but Rochester and Sunderland did underhand oppose it with might and main, and so contrived that the judges delayed to bail out his lordship till the very last day of the term; those two lords dreading, that Danby might join with Hallifax to weaken their interest.

And now (February 10) it was resolved to bring a *quo warranto*, if with any colour of justice it could be done, against the charter of York; and two days afterwards, Lord Danby was bailed out of his long confinement of five years, as were all the popish lords that had been under durance ever since the time of the first plot. Lord Danby came the same day to kiss his majesty's hand in the bedchamber, where I happened to be present. The king received him very kindly,

and when the earl complained of his long imprisonment, his majesty told him he knew it was against his consent, which his lordship thankfully acknowledged; but they had no manner of private discourse together. My Lord Privy Seal came into the presence presently after, and the two lords saluted each other; but it was very slightly done on both sides—the next day, however, I went from the lord privy seal, to wait upon the earl, when his lordship desired me to present his service to him, and to tell him, that he should have taken a more particular sort of notice of him, but that he thought it would not prove so much for his service: and the earl said, it was for the very self same reason he had behaved so indifferently towards his lordship; for there was at that time great jealousy of a friendship between them. Lord Danby told me, he would retire to his house out of town, nor concern himself with business, though he doubted not but he might if he would, but not upon the national foundation he desired, and therefore would have nothing to do with it, declaring his aversion to a French or a popish interest. He told me also, the substance of what had passed between the duke and him, at the visit he made to his highness, after he had been with the king, and I thereby understood his lordship was upon no very affectionate terms with that prince. He said his highness told him, he had heard he had spoken slightingly of him, and that he answered, it is true he had often been so unfortunate as to differ with him in opinion, and could not help saying, that he had never yet found any cause to repent him of it; but that for expressing himself any how against his person, if he heard so they were whispers and lies; and desired to know who were his informers; but the duke evaded that. In short, I found by my lord privy seal, that he and the earl of Danby had a good understanding together.

On the 1st of March, the king went to Newmarket,

and I followed him a few days afterwards; when the weather being very unseasonable and dirty, and walking about the town with his majesty, he observed, that my shoes were but thin, and advised me to get a stronger pair to prevent my catching cold, which, though a trivial remark in itself, may serve for an example of that prince's great goodness and care for those persons that were near him, though ever so inconsiderable. The manner of the king's dividing his time at this place was thus: he walked in the morning till ten of the clock; then he went to the cockpit till dinner-time; about three he went to the horse-races; at six he returned to the cockpit, for an hour only; then he went to the play, though the actors were but of a terrible sort; from thence to supper; then to the Duchess of Portsmouth's till bed-time; and so to his own apartment to take his rest.

March 25, 1684. But to have done with these domestic diversions, it may be proper just to take notice, that the war abroad seemed to be in the way of a very violent continuance, though the French king had offered rather a truce or a peace for a certain term of years: but then it was upon very hard conditions, he refusing to give up any thing he had taken, either from Spain or the empire, so that there was no likelihood that the confederates would agree thereto. Our king, however, seconded the French king's offers, recommended them to the allies as reasonable, and proffered to be guarantee between them in case they came to a point.

Mean while, Lord Rochester continued powerful enough to advance his friends, and Mr. Godolphin, one of the commissioners of the treasury, was made secretary of state on the 2d of April, instead of Sir Lyonel Jenkins, who had leave, by reason of his great age, to retire; a promotion that was not made without the participation of the Lady Portsmouth. The lord

privy seal, the same day, told me, that though all these combined interests were still as averse to him as ever, the king was nevertheless as kind to him as he had usually been; but it was very obvious, that his lordship was less in business than before; his lordship, however, had certainly a very large portion of the king's esteem, and what he said had generally great weight with his majesty. And on the 11th of May, the Duke of York is declared lord high admiral of England; that is, he was invested with the power of that office, without either the title or the patent, because his highness could not dispense with the oaths or the sacrament, a circumstance which gave great offence to numbers of people. Nor must we forget another thing, though of a private nature, which happened this day; for the Duchess of Portsmouth, contrary to custom, waiting on the queen, at dinner, as lady of the bedchamber, her majesty was thereby thrown into such disorder, that the tears stood in her eyes, while the other laughed at it, and turned it into a jest.

News came on the 25th of this month, that the French had possessed themselves of Luxemburgh, which our court seemed to be not at all displeased with; but there were those, and some of them the king's best friends, who were extremely sorry to hear it, that place being reckoned to be the key of Germany, Holland, and Flanders, and probably too opportune to advance the grandeur of the common enemy. A few days afterwards, I went to Windsor, to congratulate the king upon his birth-day; the crowd, upon this occasion, was great, but as for gaiety and gallantry, there was but little of either, especially as to apparel. And now the Duke of York is declared of the great council, commonly called the privy council, whence he had been excluded ever since the statute which required the taking of oaths, which his highness refusing upon this readmission, it became the subject of much talk, and

was deemed to be a breach of one of the most solemn and most explicit acts of parliament.

Intending for the north, I went to take leave of the king on the 15th of June, who told me, that those who had served him so carefully and so well as I had done, should always be in his thoughts, and that I should find it so by experience. I waited also on the duke, and desired his commands for York: he told me, he doubted not but I should do what became me for his majesty's service, and that for his own part, he depended upon me. I assured his highness, I should never fail in any part of my trust; but begged of him to hearken to no stories that might be told him to my prejudice. I told him that every county had its competitors, and that it was impossible for me to hope to live without enemies, and especially as I had the honour of serving the king preferably to many of equal and some of superior rank, who could not but look upon me, for that reason, with an eye of envy. A few days afterwards, I visited the Lord Danby, who informed me, that Lord Rochester was closing in with the moderate men, not I suppose out of any affection for them, but to make himself the stronger rival against lord privy seal, who was suspected to stand upon a firmer bottom than he, and consequently to be better able to stand the shock of a parliament, in case the king should be prevailed on to call one: but, alas! parliaments seemed to be no longer thought of, and to be quite out of doors; for, it was Lord Danby's opinion, there was a very strict conjunction between us and France, though they had so lately taken Luxemburgh, and were likely to succeed according to their own wishes.

I returned to the north, and the August following, we had the grateful news that Buda had been taken for the emperor, by the Duke of Lorrain; as also, that a truce was made between the emperor and the King

of France, which looked as if a general peace was at hand, that the Christian powers might the better exert themselves against the presumptuous arms of the infidel. And what still added to the good aspect of the thing, we had advice, there had been great alterations made with regard to the grandees at court, and that particularly Lord Rochester had been removed from the head of the treasury board, to that of the council; in which, though he was advanced in honour, he was put backward in profit and power: it was therefore most evidently what he never sought for, and as plain, that Lord Hallifax had brought it to pass: thus it was that Lord Danby, now in the country, conjectured; and it was soon confirmed to me, by a letter from my Lord Marquis himself, wherein he made use of these words; "You may believe I am not at all displeased to see such an adversary removed from the only place that could give him power and advantage; and he bears it with so little philosophy, that, if I had ill nature enough, he gives me sufficient occasion to triumph. You see I cannot hinder myself from imparting my satisfaction to so good a friend." But the wonder was, how the finger of my lord privy seal was able to effect this against the shoulder of the Duke of York, who still continued a friend to Rochester as much as ever.

I went to visit the Duke of Newcastle at his castle of Nottingham, on the 4th of September, where the Duke of Buckingham had been not long before, and giving a long account of affairs above, which seemed to intimate as if, notwithstanding what had lately happened, the French interest was still uppermost at court. His grace told me also, that Buckingham was very angry with the Marquis of Hallifax, for refusing to admit of a private communication with the French ambassador, when he offered to bring him to his lordship; and that his grace should say, his power would never be consider-

able while he continued averse to that interest. But in contradiction to this, I, towards the latter end of this same month, received a very kind letter from my Lord Marquis, and others from very great persons, which gave me to understand, there would probably be some farther change at court, that his lordship stood very firm with the king, and that it was believed the power of the French interest was somewhat abated.

On the 20th of January, 1685, a *quo warranto*, which had so long threatened them, was served upon the city of York, and the resolution thereupon, was to send up the charter, and to offer at no defence against the king: I endeavoured, as much as I conveniently could, to appear quite indifferent on either side; but almost upon the back of this, I had the sad news, from the Earl of Burlington, that his majesty had been taken, upon the 2d of February, with a fit of an apoplexy, though they called it an epilepsy; and that he had continued as it were dead almost three hours, till he was brought to himself again, by bleeding, cupping, vomiting, and several other means that had been used. His lordship farthermore, in his letter, ordered me, so to dispose of things as might best prevent disturbances and troubles, in case his majesty should unfortunately suffer a relapse; and all the necessary precautions were taken accordingly; though upon the news that the king was recovered, and in some way of continuance, there was nothing but bonfires and rejoicings in our parts; a short lived mirth; for three days afterwards, we had news that his majesty was fallen into a relapse, and that his physicians were in great fear he could not recover. At this we doubled our diligence to secure peace and quietness, and to prevent any obstacle that might start up in prejudice to the Duke of York. Two days afterwards, Feb. 7, came news, that my great and good master was departed this life. The mail came not in till four in the morning,

when I was sitting up to receive it, resolved to suffer no letter to go out till I had been with the Lord Mayor, and the High Sheriff, to whom I immediately delivered their own letters, by which they had orders, together with myself, from the privy council and the secretary of state, to proceed immediately and proclaim James the Second. As soon as we had got every thing ready for this ceremony, which we had before day, I gave leave for the delivery of the rest of the letters; and by seven in the morning, the high sheriff, met by the archbishop and most of the gentlemen in the town, moved towards the Castle-yard to proclaim the king there, while I caused all the garrison, the necessary guards excepted, to be drawn together in the Thursday market.

By nine in the morning of the 8th, the king was proclaimed by my lord mayor, the high sheriff, and myself; the first did it in the usual places in the city; the second did it in the Castle-yard for the county, and I did it in the Thursday market, to the garrison there drawn out together; I then ordered a double discharge of the artillery, and several vollies, according to the orders I had for that end received from my Lord Sunderland. All this was transacted with all imaginable token of peace and joy; not only in York, but afterwards throughout the whole county, and indeed, the whole kingdom.

A strange effect of power it was from heaven itself, that so strong a party as had reared its head in parliament, and so pertinaciously called out for the exclusion of the Duke of York, should now upon his accession acquiesce to him, with such deference and quiet submission. But it may be presumed, they were aware of the difference there was between the spirit of the late and the present king: the former they thought might, for peace sake, be sooner brought to abandon his brother, than the latter tamely to renounce his

His Royall Highness Iames Duke of Yorke and Albany
K.t of the most noble order of the Garter, and sole
brother to his sacred Matie King Charles the 2d &c.

right and title to three kingdoms, for fear of a war. But what served in very great measure to quiet the minds and allay the passions of men, was King James's declaration to the privy council immediately after the breath was out of his brother's body, whereby he promised to defend the government of England, both in church and state, and carefully to tread in the footsteps of his late majesty, with regard to his kindness and lenity towards his people; and that as on the one hand, he would defend the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so on the other he would invade no man's property.

I stayed at York a few days to keep the peace, and, in the mean time, had notice from the proper hands, that I was continued in my command, and that I had leave to set out for London, as I, indeed, had desired. But on the 16th there began to be great changes at court; Lord Rochester was made lord high treasurer of England; lord privy seal was made lord president of the council; which though it was a step higher as to place, it was much doubted that it was not at his lordship's desire; the trust and profit of the privy seal being judged to be an overbalance for the honour of the other. And now we had the agreeable prospect of a parliament, which it was said his majesty intended should meet in May next.

It was now beyond all doubt that the king was a papist; for on the 13th of April he went publicly to mass, though he ordered the chapel of Whitehall to be kept in *statu quo*; whither the Princess of Denmark repaired daily, while the king did the same to the queen's private chapel. In the interim, I was chosen a member to sit in the ensuing parliament for the city of York; and with this new charge, I this day sat forward for London; where being arrived, my Lord Marquis of Hallifax told me, he and Lord Rochester, the treasurer, were now very well together; that he

had used his constant endeavours to serve the king, and that he would continue to do the same; but that he hoped his majesty would not think of imposing his religion on him; which he seemed sorrowfully to apprehend, the most considerable posts in the army in Ireland, being now put into the hands of papists. His lordship then recalled to me several instances of the late king's kindness to him, and certainly no man was deeper in his favour, when his majesty was unfortunately snatched away, than my lord marquis. A few days afterwards, I waited on his majesty, kissed his hand, and at the same time presented him with an address from the young men of the city of York, who had petitioned me for leave to exercise themselves at arms on certain days of the year, which the king received very kindly.

The next day my Lord Hallifax told me he had had two private audiences of the king, and that he had in such plain terms told him his mind, upon the grand point of government, that he much wondered the king, considering his natural temper, took it with that calmness and composure he did. His lordship then observed, it possibly might be insisted on, that some acts should, in the ensuing parliament, be repealed, which would require a weighty and mature deliberation; and touched on some things not altogether so fit to be inserted in this place.

The king was crowned and the queen in Westminster Abbey, on the 23d of April, with all imaginable pomp and magnificence, except that there was no cavalcade through the city, as the custom had formerly been.

Their majesties went privately to the palace at Westminster, where they, the nobility, and all the officers of the crown put on their robes, formalities, and ensigns, and thence proceeded through Palace Yard, railed in and prepared for that purpose, in procession to Westminster Abbey, whence the ceremony being

completed, they all returned to the hall, to a most sumptuous dinner. And now the gentlemen of the house of commons began to consider what the court might demand of them, as well as what might be granted at the approaching session, the parliament consisting of a great number of loyal gentlemen, who were nevertheless, good patriots, and true protestants. The report went, that there would be more required in behalf of popery, than the laws now in force would allow of; and that the king expected the settlement of a constant revenue upon him, suitable to that of the late king, besides a sum of ready money to subvene his present occasions. That in favour of popery it would be proposed to repeal the *habeas corpus* act, which I found was much opposed by some great ones, in their private discourse, as well as by some of us; and to enact a general toleration or liberty of conscience, which some seemed willing enough to subscribe to; though at the same time, the resolution was to admit of no alteration to capacitate papists to enjoy any place or employment in or under the government. As for the affair of money, men in general seemed willing to settle an handsome revenue upon the king, and to give him money, but whether their grant should be permanent or only temporary, and to be renewed from time to time by parliament, that the nation might be the oftener consulted, was the question: in all this, I resolved punctually to do my duty to the crown, but not to be unmindful of a due regard for my country and my religion.

On the 4th of May I had some discourse with Mr. Hilliard, Sir Roger Martin, and other gentlemen of great consideration with the popish party: they told me the king would expect a repeal of the sanguinary laws; that the papists should be allowed the private exercise of their religion, and that they, at least such as had served the royal family in the wars or otherwise,

should be capable of employment under him: that the king would, in parliament, give full satisfaction to the nation, with regard to their religion and properties; but that if reason would not serve his purpose, he knew what he had to do. That the king would never divide the regal power by admitting of that of the pope; that his majesty was too fond of power to be guilty of that oversight; and that his adhering to the defence of the church of England, would on the other hand, deter the pope from pressing him to admit of his supremacy; in short, that it was but reasonable the king should insist on the repeal of the several penal laws against the papists for that if he should die, he would leave them in as ill a plight as he found them: but what wisdom or sense there was in those who, at this time, could offer at such arguments, need not be said.

I waited on the king in his barge from Whitehall to Somerset-house, where he went to visit the queen dowager: it was upon this day, that the noted Doctor Oates was convicted of perjury, it being proved, that he was at St. Omer's the 24th of April, 1678, when he swore he was at the White-horse Tavern in the Strand, where Pickering, Groves, Ireland, and other jesuits signed the death of King Charles the second: this was a grateful hearing to the king, who thereupon observed, that, indeed, there had been a meeting of the jesuits that day, and that all the scholars of St. Omer's knew of it, but that it was well Doctor Oates knew no better where it was to be; for, says his majesty, they met in St. James's, where I then lived, which, if Oates had but known, he would have cut out a fine spot of work for me. The king then subjoined, that Oates being thus convicted, the popish plot was now dead; to which I answering, that it had long since been dead, and that now it would be buried; his majesty so well approved of the turn, that going with him afterwards to the Princess of Denmark, I heard him repeat it to her.

Three or four days afterwards, we had advice, that a store of arms had been bought up in Holland, and conveyed into Scotland; and that Lord Argyle, Lord Grey, and some said the Duke of Monmouth, were actually gone with them or after them.

Meanwhile, the parliament assembled in the usual apartments at Westminster, on the 19th of May, but did nothing this day but take the oaths, and chuse their speaker, Sir John Trevor, who was confirmed by the king: the two next days were also taken up in swearing the members, and taking the test. On the twenty-second, the king made a speech to both houses, and therein assured them, he would support and defend the church of England, whose members had ever been most loyal in the worst of times, in the cause of his father, and the support of his brother; as also to adhere to the government both in church and state, as by law established; and that as he never would depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so neither would he attempt to invade any man's property. He desired of us suitable returns in settling the revenue on him for life, as in the late king; and concluded with an account he had received from Scotland, that the Earl of Argyle was landed with men and arms, on the Western Islands of that kingdom; and that the said lord had published two declarations, in both of which he charged him with tyranny and usurpation.

The commons returned to their house, immediately voted that the king's speech should be taken into speedy consideration, and were so well pleased with the solemn security the king had given them as to their religion and property, that they voted him the very same revenue for his life, as had been enjoyed by the late king for his. They then voted, that the king should, by the whole house in a body, be thanked for his speech, in which the lords concurred, and it was accordingly done the next day; when they farthermore

voted an address to his majesty, assuring him, they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes, against Argyle, his abettors, and all other traitors whatsoever; which being presented accordingly to the king, he was pleased to answer, that he expected no less from a parliament so happily made up of monarchical and Church of England men, and that he should fear no enemy he either had or might have, while he had them on his side. And now all things seemed to smile with a very auspicious countenance, the king forbearing the least advances towards a change of religion, and seeming to be bent quite the contrary way.

In the midst of this, a motion was made in the house, on the 25th, that something now should be done to please the people, after so much had been done to gratify the king; pointing at a proper security for the protestant religion; upon which a debate arising, it was referred to the committee of religion. This committee, the next day, passed a vote, that the house should be moved by them, to resolve to stand by the king, with their lives and fortunes, for the defence of the religion of the church of England, as by law established: as also to present an address to the king, to issue out his royal proclamation, for putting the laws in execution against all dissenters of what denomination soever; and these votes, though in a very full committee, passed *nemine contradicente.*

But the next day, when the same came to be reported to the house, a debate took birth, whether the house should concur with the committee or not? Against the question it was argued, that it was reminding the king of a neglect of his duty; that the justices of peace were in fault that the laws were not more duly executed; that votes of this sort would alarm the kingdom, and might create a jealousy of the king, who had so solemnly declared his intentions to defend our religion; that the king had told us, the way to keep

a good understanding between him and his parliament, would be to use him well, and that he could not but take this amiss; and finally, that it might be an encouragement to the rebels already in arms in the kingdom of Scotland, and so on. To this it was answered, that it would have but an indifferent look with the nation, if we, being members of the church of England, should let such commendable votes in favour of our religion drop unheeded: at length the previous question being put, whether to agree or not to agree with the committee, it was carried in the negative. The whole matter then was summed up in this vote, that an address should be made to the king, purporting that the house did entirely rely on his royal declaration, that he would defend and secure the reformed religion of the church of England, as by law established, by far dearer and nearer to them than their lives.

On the 30th of this month, we had information, that Argyle had penetrated into his own territories in the north of Scotland, with a body of 3000 men, and that he was fortifying himself there. The next day the king came to the house of lords, and passed the bill for the continuance of the revenue of excise and customs for his own life. Having done this he spoke to both houses, and thanked them for the cheerfulness and alacrity wherewith they had passed the same; he said, their dispatch was as pleasing to him as the bill itself; but at the same time desired some extraordinary supply for the navy and ordnance stores, for paying off the late king's debts to his servants and family, and for defraying the charge he was like to be at in quelling the rebellion in Scotland; he then recommended the navy to us, as the strength and glory of the nation; assuring us he had a true English heart, jealous of the honour of the nation; and that he pleased himself with the thoughts, by God's blessing, and their assistance, to raise the reputation of it in the world, higher

than it had ever yet been in the days of any of his ancestors.

This speech being taken into consideration, it was, by a committee of the whole house, voted that a supply should be granted to his majesty for the use therein specified. While things were going on in this easy and harmonious manner, we had news from Lyme in Dorsetshire, that the Duke of Monmouth was landed in that neighbourhood, with arms for 20,000 men, together with officers and soldiers, to the number of about 200; that many of the people flocked in to him, from that factious country, and that he had declared himself the protector of the protestant religion, against popery. With all speed then the king sent down the Duke of Albemarle, the lord lieutenant of that part, to raise the militia; and after him, some companies of the standing foot, and six troops of horse and dragoons. Lyme is naturally a safe and advantageous post, and was in Monmouth's power; so that in two or three days more, we heard he was 300 strong; but, at the same time, that the Duke of Albemarle had raised the militia, and was marching towards him with some 8000 men.

The king no sooner heard that Monmouth was landed, as we have said, than he communicated the same to the commons; upon which they immediately voted him their thanks, and resolved in a body of the whole house, to wait on his majesty with their own address, wherein they promised to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, against that ungrateful rebel James Duke of Monmouth, and all others whosoever they might be; such were the promising beginnings of this short and memorable reign. Soon after comes Monmouth's declaration, which the king, the next day, sent to both houses, who attended him that very day, and voted a reward of 5000*l.* to any body that should take him, and bring him to the king, dead or

alive. This declaration charged James Duke of York, for so it stiled the king, with the burning of the city, the death of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, the murder of Sidney, and Lord Russell, with the poisoning of the late king, and tearing his crown from his head: it charged him also with being a slave to popish councils, and with packing the present parliament; and that therefore he was come to revenge all these things on the pretended king; that he would never hearken to any terms, or accomodation until his work was completed, and that as he was resolved to give no quarter to those that oppose him, he exhorted all good people to come in and assist him. To this he subjoined, that he had a just title to the crown, but that he would lay no claim to it until he had called a free parliament, to whom he was ready to give full satisfaction as to that matter; that parliaments should sit every year, nor be dismissed until all grievances were redressed, and that he would grant liberty of conscience to all manner of people, not excluding even the papists, and much more in the same strain.

Meanwhile, came news that Monmouth having marched out of the town of Lyme with 200 foot and 100 horse, had met with some of the Dorsetshire militia, fallen on them, killed several persons of note, and taken some prisoners. And now an additional supply is voted, for defraying the expence of the war, against the Duke of Monmouth. The house upon this occasion resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to consider of the ways and means for raising this new supply, voted that it should be levied upon such new foundations, as had been built upon within the compass of the bills of mortality, since the year 1660, excepting the late general fires in the city of London and borough of Southwark. Secondly, that it should be levied only upon the rents of the same houses for the term of one year. Thirdly, upon such

foundations as were now laid. Fourthly, that there should be a clause to prevent any more buildings within the said limits. Fifthly, that the house should be moved that a bill might be brought in for that intent; in all which the house concurred with the committee.

The next day (June 18) the king sent to us, to desire we would give him credit upon some fund, for such a sum as we should think fit to grant him, towards the suppression of the rebellion in the west; and that we would prepare our business, so as to be in a condition to adjourn for some time, within a few days. Upon this we resolved again into a committee of the whole house, and voted him the sum of 400,000*l.* the sum agreed on the day before; and at the same time appointed a committee to inquire into, and bring in an estimate of the yearly value of the rents of the new buildings upon new foundations.

But notwithstanding all this, the court seemed to be much concerned at the increase of the Duke of Monmouth's forces, which were now reported to consist of 4000 foot, and four troops of horse, with which having marched towards Taunton, a populous and factious town, he made himself master thereof, two regiments of the militia running away, when they heard he was near the place; but the Duke of Albemarle had still orders not to fight till the standing troops had joined him, which it was supposed they would do upon the 20th instant; on which day also, some 2500 of the guards, horse and foot, marched to reinforce the troops that had before been sent to the Duke of Albemarle, commanded by Lord Feversham. The same day, the commons understanding it would be a tedious task to levy the necessary sums upon the new foundations, proceeded to shift the tax upon French linen, brandies, callicoes, &c.

But I cannot help observing, that my Lord Hallifax took it ill of me, that I had been so earnest for the tax-

ing of the new buildings, he having a deep concern therein; but I told him it was my judgment, and that if my father's interest had been ever so much therein, I should have done the same thing; that, however, I was very sorry he, above all men in the world, should disapprove of any thing I did; but we presently understood each other, and he said he was very sorry he had said any thing to disturb me: this, though a transaction of quite a private nature, I could not forbear the mention of, as it was the only time we ever so much as seemed to differ. But to return to matters of more general importance.

On the 22d, his majesty had advice from Scotland, that the Earl of Dunbarton, commander in chief of his forces in that kingdom, having notice that the rebels had passed the river above Dunbarton, had marched from Glasgow to Stirling, and overtook them near the close of the day, but that in the night the rebels stole away from him into Renfrew; that the said earl then pursued them with his horse and dragoons, and understood that they were making away from him in very great confusion; that the same day three servants belonging to a gentleman of Renfrew, fell upon the Earl of Argyle, as he was getting away in the disguise of a countryman, with a blue bonnet on his head; and that they had wounded him in several places of the head; till at last, fearing they would kill him, he confessed himself to be the Earl of Argyle; and that thereupon they had taken him prisoner, and conducted him to Glasgow, where he was committed. The king sent an account of all this to the commons, who returned their thanks for the same, by such of their members as were of the privy council, who came back with this answer, that his majesty was every day more and more satisfied with them for their zeal and loyalty to his person and government, and that he gave them his thanks.

On the 23d, the king had notice, that Monmouth had sent a letter to the Duke of Albemarle, under the stile and title of his most trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, charging him upon his allegiance to come into his aid and assistance; in a word, that he now took upon him to be king; that he was marched from Taunton towards Bristol with about 5000 men and boys, and that Albemarle was at his heels.

On the 24th, I happened to dine with Sir James Smith, the lord-mayor of London, whom I had formerly known intimately well, and who was of a very loyal club in the city, where I used to go, while the fanatic plot was in agitation. This gentleman complained to me, that he enjoyed no more than the bare title of lord-mayor, the lord chief justice, Jefferies, usurping the power; that the city had no sort of intercourse with the king, but by the intervention of that lord; that whatever was well done in the city, was attributed to his influence and management; and that himself and the aldermen were, by the court, looked upon no better than his tools: that upon all occasions his lordship was so forgetful of the high dignity of the city, as to use him and his brethren with contempt; in fine, that the lord chief justice was to be pitied; that his haughtiness would be the ruin of him; and that he actually intended to let the king into the mystery of these things; but that he thought the present time was not altogether so proper, seeing a remonstrance of this tendency might be construed into mutiny and disaffection. I answered, that the king was too well acquainted with the lord-mayor's services and integrity to suspect him of that, and that, in my opinion, now was the fittest time for exposing a man in that credit at court; for that now the greatest notice would be taken of all such grievances. Indeed I was sorry *at my heart to* see such good men dissatisfied in any

degree; but I was as glad to find this proud man seen through; for he had to my knowledge used the city of York as scurvily as it was possible for him to use the city of London. For at York he put out five aldermen, though he had solemnly engaged to keep them in, and that, without so much as allowing them to be heard as to the crimes they stood accused of. The lord-mayor said the very same had been frequently practised in London, and that many had been turned out of their employments without so much as being suffered to make their defence. In short, I was at the very same time told by one of the lieutenancy of the city, that should the Duke of Monmouth give a blow to the king's forces, it was much to be feared there would be an insurrection in London.

On the 2d of July, both houses attended the king in the house of Lords, and his majesty having passed five bills, ordered the house to be adjourned to the 4th of August, which was done accordingly. And now the fears of those who were friends to the government, added to the hopes of those who were averse to it. The Duke of Monmouth's army was swelled to a body of 12,000 foot, and 1500 horse, which moved from place to place, in the hilly and inclosed country of the west, where, though the king's army kept pretty close in with them, they could not offer to give battle. The king's army, that was nearest to Monmouth, was commanded by Lord Feversham, and did not consist of above 3000 foot, and 500 horse, but then they were mostly of the guards. In a day or two the king had advice, that Monmouth had got into Bridgewater, that he intended to fortify himself there whilst he refreshed his army, and that Lord Feversham was close after him.

On the 6th, the Duke of Monmouth being then informed, that Lord Feversham lay encamped at not above three miles from Bridgewater, that his army was

as yet but small, that he was in expectation of being reinforced by three English, and three Scotch regiments from Holland, and that a body of horse was on its march from London to the same purpose; he steals out about one in the morning, with his whole army, and moves towards the royal camp, and that with such silence and good order, that the king's people knew nothing of the approach till alarmed by the fire of one of their out-sentries. The Duke of Monmouth marched at the head of the foot, and Lord Grey led up the horse, and they brought their cannon to play within pistol-shot. On the other hand, our people got into order as fast, and received them as well as could be expected, but were so overpowered by numbers, that till Lord Grey went off with the horse, which were frightened at the cannon, we were in very imminent danger of losing the day: but for the Duke of Monmouth, he stood till a great part of his foot was cut to pieces, and then made off; but so narrowly that his coat, his papers, and his secretary were taken. Ferguson, that arch-presbyterian priest and rebel, and Lord Grey was taken in disguise, three days afterwards.

The Duke of Monmouth had, from the very beginning of this desperate attempt, behaved with the conduct of a great captain, as was allowed even by the king, who, in my hearing, said he had not made one false step. And thus was this great storm, which gathered from a small cloud, the number that landed with the duke not exceeding 150; thus I say, was this great storm fortunately, not to say surprisingly allayed. Had Monmouth obtained a victory, it was much to be feared, that the disaffected would have risen in such numbers, in the several parts of England, as to have made the crown precarious. But to complete the king's good fortune, on the 9th came news, that the duke himself had been taken in disguise in a wood,

by a parcel of country fellows who were in quest of him, together with one Count Horn, who being first discovered in a bush, told them the duke himself was not far off; and the same day the Duchess of Monmouth and her two sons were sent to the Tower. The duke, when he was taken, was almost spent, not having been in a bed for three weeks; he was quite unprovided with arms, nor made any defence, being destitute of every thing but a watch he had in his pocket, and about three hundred pounds in gold, which was all the money he had left. His majesty, and no wonder, was extremely well pleased at this news; but he was of a temper so very equal, that he never appeared transported upon any occasion; and surely he never could have a greater reason for it than now, that he saw the rebellion plucked up by the very roots, and himself firmer seated on the throne, by the endeavours that had been used to shake him out of it.

When his grace came to town, the king, at his own request, saw him at Whitehall, where he expressed some detestation of his attempt; threw the blame on the Earl of Argyle, and Ferguson, who had stirred him up to it; disclaiming all title to the crown, and said he was put upon assuming the stile of king, with a view that the quality would the sooner come in to him; all this I heard the king say, but what he farther confessed, was not then known. He concluded with a desire of pardon, and, on his knees, begged his life of the king; and for the same, he, by letters, solicited the two queens, until his head was at five blows severed from his body, on Tower-hill. When he came to suffer, he submitted with great unconcern, renounced all pretentions to the crown, and unkindly, to say no worse, disowned his duchess, who to him, who had nothing of his own, had brought a fortune of ten thousand pounds a year; saying she was given to him as his wife in the days of his minority, but that the

wife of his own choice, was the Lady Henrietta Wentworth, the only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Cleveland, whom he had debauched; with whom, he confessed, he had lived according to the rules of his own convenience, though not according to the laws of the land, for two years past. He then said he was sorry for the effusion of blood he had caused, but, throughout his whole discourse, made no mention of a rebellion; and out of his pocket were taken books, in his own hand-writing, containing charms or spells to open the doors of a prison, to obviate the danger of being wounded in battle, together with songs and prayers: such was the latter end of the Duke of Monmouth.

Towards the close of this month, I returned to my government, where nothing occurring of a nature general enough to be worthy of public notice, I shall hurry on to the end of October, when we had the bad news, that my Lord Marquis of Hallifax, lord president of the privy council, was fallen into disgrace with the king, and quite dismissed from the board; he had ever been a true and kind patron to me; but what was more, he was a man of great integrity and most happy talents, which made it feared the public might feel the want of him as sensibly as his friends; but it being the king's pleasure, it became all good subjects to submit to it: but two or three days afterwards, being with the Archbishop of York and Sir Henry Gooderick, they told me, it was true the king had laid aside the lord president, but that he had assigned no cause for it; and expressed some jealousy, that the king would offer at something this session, in favour of popery.

And now the term of the last adjournment being elapsed, on the 9th of November I repaired to London; where I found the house of commons had deferred the *consideration of* the king's speech, on the day of their

meeting, which was the 9th, to the 13th instant. The house of lords had voted their thanks; but the commons being moved to the same, made head against it, as we have hinted. The king in this speech told the house he was glad to meet them in better times than when he parted with them; that the rebellion was now perfectly quashed; but that, however, the government might be in like manner attempted for the future, it being experienced, that the militia of the kingdom was of no use; that therefore, as the standing force was but small, he had raised it to a considerable number, which would be an additional charge upon him, for the time to come; that, in consideration thereof, he desired a proportionable aid: that it was true there were some popish officers in this army, but that he hoped it would make no difference between him and his parliament; for that, though they were not qualified by law, they were such as had shewn their principles by their loyalty; and that having had experience of this, he would not expose them to shame by parting with them, or to that effect; and that, in fine, he would venture his life for the true interest of the nation.

The 13th instant being come, the commons voted a supply to his majesty, for his present occasions; but would neither specify the *quantum*, nor the particular use it was designed for. Upon this a long debate arose, and the question being put, they divided, the noes being 250, and the ayes 125. They afterwards, the same day, came to a division upon the question, whether that house would first proceed upon the supply to the king, or upon the second paragraph of his majesty's speech, concerning the popish officers in the army; and it was carried for postponing the supply, by one voice only; in which division the king was told that several of his servants and officers of the army, that were of the house, were against him. The next day

waited on the king to kiss his hand, and immediately he asked me, when I came to town? I told him, the night before: he said, he was sorry I had not been here sooner, for that if I had, he should not have lost the day before, for one single vote, which he said was hard, and the more so, because it was owing to his own officers; which I took to be an oblique piece of admonition to me. This same day, the second part of the king's speech was taken into consideration, and the result was, that an address should be drawn up and presented to his majesty, to represent to him, that the reception of popish recusants into the army was quite contrary to law, and to desire that they might be removed from their posts. A committee was appointed for this purpose, and likewise to frame a bill for the indemnifying the said officers, in consideration that they had entered into the service at a time of such imminent danger. Waiting this day on Lord Hallifax, he told me the particulars of his dismission: he said he might have continued with greater advantages than ever, if he could but in conscience have concurred in some things which he saw in embryo; that the king parted with him with seeming kindness, but would assign no cause for it, and that he would name nobody into his place. This lord being generally esteemed a wise man, and an excellent subject, the removal of him, especially in almost the infancy of parliament, was matter of astonishment to great numbers, and injected a fear that a change of councils was in consequence to ensue a change of councillors.

On the 16th, the debate concerning the aid to be granted to his majesty came on. The motion was at first for two hundred thousand pounds, and then four hundred thousand pounds on the part of the country; while those of the court insisted on twelve hundred thousand pounds, for the payment of the new raised *forces, for a term of* five years to come. But the house

would give no ear to such an application of the money they might give, lest it should prove a foundation for the support of a standing army; they rather chose to give it to the king to do with it as he would; and at length seven hundred thousand pounds was proposed, and granted. In the course of this debate, the usefulness of a standing army, especially till the ferment of rebellion was quite settled, was much insisted on by the one side, while the other exposed the danger of it, the insolency of the soldiery, the ill example they were of to the country, and the heavy burthen of free quarters: but there was a compromission of all this, by the house's declaring its intention to make the militia of more use for the time to come, and until then it was agreed on, as a thing necessary, that the army should be kept on foot.

The address against popish officers being prepared, was this day read, and agreed to; but a debate arose, whether the concurrence of the lords should be desired or not: the courtiers were against it, that the king might have the better excuse not to comply with it, and the country gentlemen were, for that reason, for enforcing it the more; and upon this occasion I divided with the country, but we lost it by some forty voices. The next day we considered of the ways and means for raising the seven hundred thousand pounds we had granted, and the same day we went in a body, with our address to the king, who had appointed that to be the time for his receiving it: but his answer was, that he did not expect such an address from such a house of commons, especially as he had so lately offered to our consideration the great advantages of an union between him and us, the good effects of which had been already experienced. "I had (said he) reason to hope the "reputation God has blessed me with in the world, "might have created and confirmed in you, a greater "confidence of me, and of all I say to you: but how-

"ever you, on your part, proceed, I, on mine, shall be "steady to all the promises I have made, and be very "just to my word given in every one of my speeches:" this he uttered with great warmth.

On the 18th, the house consulted on the means to make the militia of more effectual service for the future, but the debate was adjourned to the 21st instant. At the same time it was moved by Mr. Wharton, eldest son to the Lord Wharton, that a day might be appointed for the consideration of the king's answer to our address; which was seconded by Mr. Cook, of Derbyshire, a gentleman of three thousand pounds per annum, who was so warm as, upon this occasion, to say, we were all Englishmen, and that he hoped we should not be frightened from our duty by a few high words: but the house resented this as an expression of great indecency, and, in great anger, sending their member to the Tower, deferred the business *sine die.*

The next day, the lords began to consider that part of his majesty's speech, relating to popish officers, and grew very warm in their debate, which was adjourned to the 23d instant. The king happened to be present, as he was generally constant in the house of lords, and was much concerned at the freedom which they said was used upon this subject. And, in truth, it gave great dissatisfaction, that the law in this point particularly, would be thus invaded and set at nought; and the very best of the king's friends, as well as his officers, whether civil or military, except such as were popishly inclined, were strangely alarmed thereat, and expressed themselves with great freedom whenever it happened to be the topic of their discourse.

In the midst of this, (on the 20th) the king, in the usual state, comes, and, by the lord chancellor, acquaints both houses, that for certain weighty reasons, his majesty thought fit to prorogue this parliament until *the 10th of* February next; and that it was prorogued

accordingly. This gave birth to many conjectures: some said the king had so good a revenue, and was so good a manager, that he had it in his power to subsist both his fleet and his army without more money; and that therefore he would scarce have occasion for any more parliaments; that this seemed the more likely, as he had, by this prorogation, refused the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, which the commons were preparing to give him: while others believed the king would certainly meet us again, at the term prefixed, and that, in the mean time, he would find out some expedient to satisfy the houses as to the only article they complained of, meaning the affair of the popish officers; which though it was said, might be shrewdly doubted, seeing that some of the gentlemen, who had signalized themselves for the address, were forbidden the king's presence, which was the case of Mr. Fox, paymaster to the army, Lieutenant Colonel Darcy, Major Webb, and others we need not mention.

To pass over Lord Brandon's trial and condemnation, for the concern he had had with the Duke of Monmouth, we must now observe, that the popish party behaved with great insolence; which was the more remarked, as the king of France was now in the height of persecuting his protestant subjects, who many of them fled as they could, poor and naked; being stripped of all they had. This so great and cruel an instance of the spirit that, for the most part, possesses those of this delusive persuasion, was now the talk of all thinking people, who began to be of opinion, that every thing just and lawful, ought to be done to obviate the growth, and abate the present pride of the papists in our dominions. But the king, as if he had a mind to shew us his disposition for clemency, declared, on the 2d of December, he had reprieved the Lord Brandon, who was to have been executed three days afterwards; which, it must be owned, was a great act

of mercy in his majesty, this lord having been pardoned in the late reign, for breaking a boy's neck, when he was in his cups, of which being convicted, he was condemned as guilty of murder.

At this time, the favourites at court began to be at strife with each other; the Lord Sunderland was made president of the council, and continued secretary of state; his lordship having artfully insinuated to the queen, (he had then a misunderstanding with the treasurer,) that the friends and relations of the king's first wife, as Rochester, Clarendon, Dartmouth, and others, were in greatest favour, and in possession of the best places, while her friends, though she was queen consort, were but slenderly provided for; and her friends being reckoned to be, Lord Sunderland, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Churchill, they began to play their private batteries against each other.

I, for my part, had seen so many changes backwards and forwards, so many of both great and small removed and shifted about, that I must confess the thoughts thereof began to damp the flight of my ambition; and made me conclude, there was a time when every sober man would chuse to retire and be content with what he had, rather than venture his substance and conscience upon the uncertain hazard of augmenting his wealth; not that I found the king any way altered with regard to myself, or that I despaired of keeping my ground, though my great and good friend was out; on the contrary, could I but have strained to the pitch some did, I am persuaded I had a fairer opportunity of raising myself than ever I had; but I preferred a certain safety to an uncertain grandeur.

But things now, with regard to those who enjoyed any posts under the government, seemed to be carried to a very extraordinary length; for Fox, the paymaster of the army, whose employ was valued at ten thousand pounds per annum, and Colonel John Darcy, grandchild

and heir to the Earl of Holderness, having offended the king by their votes in the lower house, and having been thereupon forbidden the king's presence, were now wholly laid aside; and it was now said that in council it had been agreed, that all persons, who for the future offended in the same way, would be served in the same manner, which startled a number of people. And now it was observed, that the lord treasurer was more lowly and obliging than usual, whence it was conjectured that the odds were against him, and as much was confessed by some even of his friends; his lordship now setting up for the protestant interest, and the queen and her friends for the popish.

Besides the gentlemen I have already named, there were several other members dismissed from their employments, for not voting as the king expected they should, and particularly such as were officers in the army, who being not only so, but also great and very eminent for their families and services to the crown, it was matter of great wonder to every body. But what surprised me as much as any thing was to hear, from the Archbishop of York, that Lord Marquis of Hallifax was coming again into play; an agreeable surprize this, especially as the times seemed to turn; but the very next day, I had the mortification to understand, from the marquis's own mouth, that there was no manner of foundation for the report. The Duke of Albemarle now told me several things concerning the state of affairs, which astonished me very much: gentlemen were now in a most unprecedented manner assaulted in the very streets; one had a powder thrown into his eyes, which deprived him of sight; another had his throat cut by two men, though neither of these gentlemen had given the least visible provocation or offence to the aggressors; and the Duke of Albemarle was met by a gentleman who threatened him as his grace was going along in his chair. And now it was whispered, "that the king

would still farther prorogue the parliament till May;" which certainly was the wisest course he had, at this time, to take, if he could not resolve to give some proper satisfaction to the houses, with regard to the popish officers; but that this was far from his thoughts, and quite contrary to his intention, appeared by a late admission of several others of that superstition into military posts. In short, the king unhappily persisting in his own way, discharged his anger against the Bishop of London, a most worthy prelate, brother to the late Earl of Northampton, putting him away from the council-board, on account of a speech he had, the last sessions, made in the house of lords, concerning the popish officers; though, as I was told by the Archbishop of York, it was spoken with all the deference and respect imaginable. This decent speech was by some said to be the cause of his lordship's dismission; but others attributed it to his industry, in keeping the Princess of Denmark within the pale of the protestant church, in opposition to some extraordinary endeavours to get her over to that of the church of Rome.

On the 14th of January, 1685–6, my Lord Delamere was tried by a particular commission, directed to the lord high-steward, and thirty other peers. The crime laid to his charge was conspiring to raise a rebellion, and to subvert the government, in conjunction with the Duke of Monmouth, and other false traitors: and so on. I happened to sit near the king during the whole trial: but the only positive evidence against his lordship, was one Saxton, an obscure fellow, who swore that about the time of the Duke of Monmouth's landing, he was recommended by the Lord Brandon, to the Lord Delamere, and discoursed with him at his house in Cheshire, upon the 4th of June, Sir Robert Cotton and another gentleman being present; that their conversation was about assistance being given to the said duke; and that *his lordship* should say, "he was engaged to raise 10,000

"men in his cause; but that he could not effect it so "soon as he had promised, because of a present want "he was under of money." What the other witnesses had to alledge, was all circumstance and hearsay: some said the Duke of Monmouth had told them, he depended upon help from Lord Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, and Lord Delamere; and that they would be ready to rise in Cheshire, as soon as he landed; others swore that the duke had written and sent messages to his friends in London, to give notice to the lords to be ready; and that he was preparing for England. In the course of this trial, a point of law never before heard of, was started, by the lord high-steward, and the solicitor-general; namely, that though there were but one positive evidence, in a case of high treason, if the rest, though but circumstantial, concurred therewith, it was sufficient to find a prisoner guilty: for example; supposing one man should hear another say, he intended to kill the king upon such a day, and that another swears he saw the party lie in wait to prosecute his intention; the evidence is sufficient. But whatever there might be in this law, it was by no means applicable to the prisoner; for he most convincingly disproved the main evidence, Saxton, and, by the clearest testimony, made it appear, that neither the two gentlemen nor himself were upon the spot upon the 4th of June; that two of them were then actually in London, and the other sixteen miles off: he urged also, that if the man had sworn nothing but truth against him, he could be no legal witness, being himself a prisoner, and taken in rebellion when Monmouth was routed, and consequently under a temptation to swear against him, to save his own life. Upon the whole he was acquitted, every one of the peers declaring him not guilty. There were those who condemned the lawyers, who had advised the king to bring a peer to trial upon so slender a foundation; while others observed, that, as the king had

committed him to prison, it was but fit he should be brought to a public trial, lest it should be said he had been detained when nothing appeared against him. But when all was over, I plainly saw the king was in great rage with Saxton, and the next day he declared, he should be first convicted for perjury, and then hanged for high-treason.

A few days afterwards, (Jan. 18th) I dined with the lord-chancellor, where the lord-mayor of London was a guest, and some other gentlemen. His lordship having, according to custom, drank deep at dinner, called for one Montfort, a gentleman of his, who had been a comedian, an excellent mimic, and to divert the company, as he was pleased to term it, he made him plead before him in a feigned cause, during which he aped all the great lawyers of the age, in their tone of voice, and in their action and gesture of body, to the very great ridicule not only of the lawyers, but of the law itself, which, to me, did not seem altogether so prudent in a man of his lofty station in the law; diverting it certainly was, but prudent in the lord high-chancellor, I shall never think it:—but let us step to the king.

It was now known, that Mrs. Sidley, who had been the king's mistress, and had several children by him when Duke of York, but whom he had deserted for a while when he came to the crown, was as much in his favour as ever; for he created her Countess of Dorchester, and visited her frequently; which gave the queen a great deal of uneasiness; but there was no help for it; till at length her majesty's party and priests did so importune the king, and so pressingly remonstrate to him the sin of this amour, and, what was worse, the disparagement it would throw on their religion, that it was reported he would abandon his mistress, and that he had sent her word, either to retire into France, or to expect to have her pension of four thousand pounds a *year withdrawn.*

To resume the lord-chancellor once again; he had now liked to have died of a fit of the stone, which he virtuously brought upon himself by a furious debauch of wine, at Mr. Alderman Duncomb's; where he, the lord-treasurer, and others, drank themselves into that height of frenzy, that, among friends, it was whispered they had stripped into their shirts, and that, had not an accident prevented them, they had got upon a sign-post, to drink the king's health; which was the subject of much derision, to say no worse.

The term the parliament was prorogued to being expired, the members of the house of commons, and the lords, met in their respective places. The commons that appeared, were to the number of about one hundred and fifty; and being summoned by the black rod to appear in the house of lords, a commission directed to the lord-chancellor, lord-treasurer, and others, empowering them, or any of them, to prorogue the parliament till the 10th of May next, was read, and the parliament was prorogued accordingly.

Though it could not be as yet said, that the king had made any notable invasion on the rights of the church of England, he recurred to all the methods he could contrive and practise for the increase of his own; by putting more papists into office in this kingdom, but especially in Ireland; by causing, or at least allowing popish books to be printed, and sold, and cried about publicly; by publishing some popish papers found in the late king's closet; by a declaration that his late majesty died a papist, and in what manner; by an account of the conversation of the late Duchess of York, together with her reasons for the same, as written by herself: by a letter or order to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to direct the clergy of his province to preach a good life, but never to meddle with controversies in their sermons; by sending the Lord Castlemain upon a solemn embassy to the pope, and by much more

of the same nature and tendency; which made it expected that more would infallibly follow.

Accordingly, on the 29th of April, 1686, being the first of the term, a great change was made among the judges in Westminster-hall: there was a new chief-justice of the common pleas, and another new judge of the same bench; there was a new chief-baron; in fine, four new judges of the several courts. This made a considerable noise, as the gentlemen now displaced were of great learning and loyalty, and whose only crime had been, they would not give their opinions, as several of their brethren had done, "that the king by his prero-"gative might dispense with the test required of "Roman-catholics." The next day I was informed by Mr. Jones, son to the chief-justice of that name, lately turned out, that his father, upon his dismission, observed to the king, that he was by no means sorry he was laid aside, old and worn out as he was in his service; but concerned, that his majesty should expect such a construction of the law from him, as he could not honestly give; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious men, would give their judgment as he expected; and that to this his majesty made answer, it was necessary his judges should be all of one mind. He told me farther, that Sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney-general, had been directed by the king to draw up a warrant, by virtue of his prerogative, to invest a priest of the church of Rome with a benefice, and to confirm one Walker, head of a house in Oxford, and some fellows of the same, who had erred over to the papal communion, by a *non obstante:* that the attorney said this would not be against one statute only, but against all the laws since the days of Elizabeth; that he therefore durst not do it, and desired the king to weigh the matter a little with himself; for that it struck at the very root of the protestant church, quite contrary to his majesty's late *gracious promises*; in short, that the attorney farther

said, he doubted not but as soon as another could be found to do the work, he should lose his place; such a slave was the king to the priesthood of Rome.

But whatever the attorney at present expected, the solicitor Finch was turned out on the 5th of May, and one Powis appointed in his stead, who was ready and willing to do what the other refused; which was to draw up a warrant for confirming of Walker in his office of head of University-college in Oxford, and three fellows of the same; and another in behalf of the parson of Putney, which afterwards passed the great seal, though the parties were papists as strong as could be. And to complete, as it were, all, most of the protestant officers in the army in Ireland were removed, and papists substituted in their stead.

On the 10th of May, the term of prorogation being elapsed, it was by commission continued to the 22d of November following. The king said this morning, in his bedchamber, that many of the politicians of the house of commons were come up, in fear he should surprize them with doing of business; but that he would not do by them, as they had been wont to do with the crown: a very extraordinary speech. But, three days afterwards, taking my leave of the Lord Dover, late Henry Jermin, Esq., a papist and great favourite, he told me the parliament would certainly meet at the time last limited, and that if they would not comply with the king, they were to look to the issue. In short, the king having lately got him a jesuit for his confessor, drove on at a great rate, and seemed by far more intent than before upon promoting and spreading his own religion. In a word, he was now resolved to protect those of his own implicit faith at all adventures, a notable instance of which was exhibited on the 21st of June, in the case of Sir Edward Hales, a profest papist, to whom the king having given a regiment of foot, he was this term sued upon the

statute, for five-hundred pounds, he keeping his employment without the qualification required. Upon which occasion it was agreed by all the judges, Baron Street excepted, that the king had a power to dispense with all penal statutes, and that his majesty, enjoying alone the power, was the only judge in the case; and so Sir Edward pleading the king's pardon, obtained the better of the prosecution; an event which gave great surprize, and occasioned much discourse the whole kingdom over.

Notwithstanding what had been so confidently assured me concerning the sitting of parliament, a proclamation was issued out on the 15th of October, for the still farther prorogation of it from the 22d of November to the 14th of the February following. After this, the king continued his course of displacing protestants in favour of their enemies the papists, and I expected when it was to be my turn; for I had frequent alarms of that sort; every post brought us account of officers both civil and military deprived of employment; of some who resigned their commissions and places; but the most general accounts were of persons actually discarded, and that papists were, for the most part, put in to succeed them. Lord Clarendon, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was recalled, and Mr. Talbot, a rigid Irish papist, a little before created Earl of Tyrconnel, sent over in his room; which made so dreadful an impression upon many protestants of that kingdom, that they either left or sold their estates as they could, and came over into England. Mr. Saville, vice-chamberlain to the king, and who had been of his bedchamber when Duke of York, and since then ambassador in France, was put out of all employment.

Leaving the public affairs for a while, at this untoward pass, I would venture to take notice of a private occurrence which made some noise at York.

The assizes being there held on the 7th of March, 1686–7, an old woman was condemned for a witch. Those who were more credulous in points of this nature than myself, conceived the evidence to be very strong against her. The boy she was said to have bewitched, fell down on a sudden before all the court, when he saw her, and would then as suddenly return to himself again, and very distinctly relate the several injuries she had done him: but in all this it was observed, the boy was free from any distortion; that he did not foam at the mouth, and that his fits did not leave him gradually, but all at once; so that, upon the whole, the judge thought it proper to reprieve her, in which he seemed to act the part of a wise man. But though such is my own private opinion, I cannot help continuing my story. One of my soldiers being upon guard about eleven in the night, at the gate of Clifford Tower, the very night after the witch was arraigned, he heard a great noise at the castle, and going to the porch, he there saw a scroll of paper creep from under the door, which, as he imagined by moonshine, turned first into the shape of a monkey, and thence assumed the form of a turkey-cock, which passed to and fro by him. Surprized at this, he went to the prison, and called the under-keeper, who came and saw the scroll dance up and down and creep under the door, where there was scarce an opening of the thickness of half a crown. This extraordinary story I had from the mouth of both the one and the other: and now leave it to be believed or disbelieved, as the reader may be inclined this way or that.

It is fit we observe, that the way of dealing with men, who proposed any business to themselves in the government, and especially the members of both houses of parliament, that were in possession of places and near the king, was thus: his majesty took them aside, and told them the test-act was made in the height of faction,

not so much in prejudice to the Roman-catholics in general, as to himself in particular, and to obviate his rightful accession; that while that, and the penal laws remained in force, no soul of that persuasion could be safe; that it was against all municipal law, for free-born subjects to be excluded the service of their prince, or for a prince to be restrained from employing such subjects as he thought for his service; and that therefore he hoped they would be so loyal as not to refuse him their voices for annulling such unreasonable laws. Every man that persisted in a refusal to comply with this suggestion, was sure to be outed.

The time for the meeting of the parliament now drawing near, and several of the members neglecting to repair to London; the king ordered the judges, in their several circuits, to feel the pulses of the men; in consequence of which I was, to my great surprize, accosted at York by the judge, who told me, he had orders to talk with me upon the subject. I asked him if his majesty had made particular mention of my name; to which replying, that he had only received a general order from the king, to sound the inclinations of the several gentlemen who sat in parliament, and that he had had a particular instruction from the chancellor only, as to myself by name; I desired time to consider of it, and the next morning returned for answer, that I perceived a denial would be construed into disloyalty; that I had so lately waited on the king, and given such assurance of my integrity, that I could not apprehend his majesty could harbour any doubt as to me, and the rather, as he had not been pleased to make use of my name; that I could not conceive myself obliged to declare myself to any body else: but that if his majesty should think fit to say any thing to me farther than he had already, when I had the honour of waiting on him next, which I intended should be speedily, I would so *consult my loyalty* and my conscience, as to give him

all the satisfaction in my power: the judge told me he would make report of what I had said; and did not seem to be very forward in pressing a compliance: he had his orders, and he obeyed them. I deemed this to be the most prudent reply I could at this time make; for had I answered in the affirmative, I might have incurred the displeasure and censure of the greatest part of the nation; if in the negative, I should have utterly disobliged the king; a caution the more necessary to be taken, as there was no likelihood there would be any meeting of parliament, to control him in his conduct. However, I believe that in all cases of this nature it is safest to unbosom one's self to the prince in person, and as much as possible avoid the danger that may arise from the treachery, the prejudice, or the ignorance of a reporter.

In consequence of this examination of the members, a number of vacancies ensued, and among others that were deprived, was Herbert, the vice-admiral of England, and master of the robes: he, in those days, enjoying places to the value of three thousand pounds a year. The king having threatened, and put his threats in execution, and also made use of the most plausible persuasions, to draw the majority of parliament into his own way of thinking, as to the test and penal laws, and all to no sort of purpose, cared not to see them assembled at the time seemingly appointed; and therefore, on the 18th of March, declared in council, that for divers weighty considerations the parliament stood prorogued to the 22d of the November following. His majesty, upon the same occasion declared, that it having been found impracticable to effect an uniformity in religion, though it had been the great endeavour of four of his predecessors successively, assisted as much as possible by their parliament; and that such attempts having been experienced to be highly prejudicial to the kingdom, witness the fatality of the rebellion in his father's time;

he was now determined to issue out a declaration in favour of all sorts of dissenters, that they might enjoy the free practice of their own religion: hoping it might contribute to the general peace and quiet of the kingdom, the increase of the people, and the advancement of trade. But whatever the reasons alledged were, it appeared to most men, that a deep design was laid to sap the foundations of the church of England, nor could her sons but dread some extraordinary shocks: though some there were, who apprehending no very extraordinary consequence of these machinations, believed such a toleration might be of public emolument, if considered in a political view; which was by much the most specious side of the building; which shall close up this year.

At length the declaration for liberty of conscience made its appearance with us in the north, on the 7th of April 1687; gilded over with the taking pretence of tenderness, on the part of his majesty, towards all his subjects whatsoever; containing an invitation to all strangers of every sect to come among us: pretending a farther improvement of our trade, and promising protection to the bishops and ministers of the church of England, in their rights, privileges, and immunities, as also the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion in all their churches. But all this was too well understood to divide the protestant churches, *divide et impera*, that so the papists might with the more ease possess themselves of the highest place; which the presbyterians or Calvinists, who had most of them began to conform, seemed to be well aware of; and therefore continued to resort to our churches, though the anabaptists, quakers, and independants thought it worth their while to return their addresses of thanks and acknowledgment. Elated, seemingly, with this, the king goes on in his old course of displacing gentlemen that had posts, but particularly such as were of the parliament, and obstinate enough

to withstand his wishes; and now the parliament being prorogued, it was not thought worth the trouble to inquire which way any body stood inclined, so that the late question concerning the test and penal laws was dropped, or at least suspended. All this inequality of usage wrought but upon few protestants either of estate or quality to change their faith, little or not at all allured by the baits thrown in their way, or terrified by the king's frowns and implacable displeasure: honour therefore now was the grand bulwark of our religion, gentlemen disdaining to have thought they could sacrifice the sweets of conscience to the mercenary views of a reward. In the midst of this, dies the Duke of Buckingham, a man once of vast estate, and oftentimes in high favour with the late king, though never with the present; a man of the most exquisite wit of his time, the handsomest, and best bred; but unfortunately given up to pleasures, unsteady in his ways, and, in all respects, an enemy to himself.

While addresses of thanks were every day presented to the king, on the part of the various denominations of dissenters, and from some even of the church of England; I had frequent alarms that the papists were in a way of persuading the king to grant them the manor of York, as a seminary for the instruction of youth in the principles of their faith; and on the 24th of June I heard it was granted accordingly to one Lawson, a priest, for a term of thirty years. Surprized at this, I wrote to the Lord Bellassis, the principal commissioner of the treasury, remonstrating, that I had had it by my commission of governor, granted to myself by the late king, and confirmed by this; that it was worth sixty pounds a year to me, and that it had cost me above two hundred pounds in repairs, since I had enjoyed it; and that as I had been allowed nothing for this expence, I desired it might be either continued to me, or that his majesty would be graciously pleased

to grant me such a compensation in lieu thereof, and consider me in my disbursement, in such manner and proportion, as in his great justice and wisdom he should think fit. A few days afterwards, a proclamation came to hand, bearing date the 2d of July, whereby the king dissolved the parliament, and at once stunned the main body of the nation. The next day, the pope's nuncio being to make his public entry at Windsor, the Duke of Somerset, one of the lords of the bedchamber in waiting, refused attendance at that solemnity; for which he was forbidden the court, and deprived of all his places: the same fate befel five of the six gentlemen of the privy-chamber, for the self-same cause; so that every hour things looked worse and worse. A while after I had a letter from Lord Feversham, to acquaint me, that according to my desire, he had spoke to the king concerning the manor of York; but that he had found he had promised it to father Lawson, for the uses above specified; that his majesty told him, he did not know I lived in it, and that if I had been at any charge in repairs, I should be considered for the same; but added, for my present comfort, that, was I not so good a man as he took me to be, he would not have kept a governor at York so long as he had done. But I shortly after had another letter from the same lord, to tell me that the lords-commissioners of the treasury had so represented the business to the king, at Windsor, that no positive resolution was as yet taken.

In the midst of the impending dangers which seemed to threaten us, there was a nobleman, the Marquis of Winchester, who had by his conduct persuaded some people to think him mad, though he certainly acted upon principles of great human prudence. This gentleman passing through Yorkshire, in his way to London, I went to pay him a visit. He had four coaches and an hundred horses in his retinue, and staid ten days at a house he borrowed in our parts. His custom was to

dine at six or seven in the evening, and his meal always lasted till six or seven the next morning; during which he sometimes drank; sometimes he listened to music; sometimes he fell into discourse; sometimes he took tobacco, and sometimes he ate his victuals; while the company had free choice to sit or rise, to go or come, to sleep or not. The dishes and bottles were all the time before them on the table; and when it was morning, he would hunt or hawk, if the weather was fair; if not, he would dance, go to bed at eleven, and repose himself till the evening. Notwithstanding this irregularity, he was a man of great sense, and though, as I just now said, some took him to be mad, it is certain his meaning was to keep himself out of the way of more serious censure in these ticklish days, and preserve his estate, which he took great care of.

On the 12th of September the president of Magdalen-college in Oxford, being dead, the king sent them his *mandamus*, requiring them to choose the bishop of that city in his stead; but they answered, *locus plenus est.* The king taking Oxford in his progress, and the master and fellows of that college waiting on him, he told them, "the people of the church of England had used him ill; that they had behaved neither as gentlemen or good subjects; and ordered them to go presently back to their election and choose the bishop, or he would let them feel how heavy a hand a king had." They went, but returned this answer: "that they were sorry they should be so unfortunate as to fall under his majesty's displeasure; but that they could not proceed to a new choice without actual commission of wilful perjury, and thereupon hoped he would excuse them." Now, in this progress, it was an observation generally made, that the king courted the dissenters, and discountenanced the church of England: for, the papists being by no means a body of themselves numerous enough to cope with the national church, he thought to strengthen them by a

junction with the dissenters, whom he blinded with his liberty of conscience, and with telling them that he desired a repeal of the test and penal laws for their ease and security, as much as in behalf of the papists.

A strange look it had, that the very people, who had lately been so indefatigably busy to divest him of his right, and even to deprive him of life; it having been, in one parliament, attempted to impeach him of high-treason, upon the statute against a reconciliation with the church of Rome; I say it looked strange, that these very men should be preferred to those who had preserved him out of their hands, not in parliament only, but in the field also: but it seems, all considerations are of no worth or validity with a hearty zeal for the priesthood of Rome, and that oblivion is so far from being ingratitude, that it is highly to be commended, a most salutary expedient, when for the advantage of mother church.

In pursuance of this very ill doctrine, on the 28th of September the king puts out several aldermen, who had ever signalized themselves by their fidelity and loyalty, who had adhered to him with the greatest constancy in the very worst of times; and, what is worse, they were aldermen of the city of London, they were members of the church of England; and nonconformists filled their places. Doctor Hough, president of Magdalen-college, is now put out, by certain visitors appointed by the king for that purpose, for that he was elected by the statutes, in contradiction to the king's *mandamus*; but the doctor stoutly refused to quit, till compelled by force, and then appealed from the visitors to the king in Westminster-hall.

At this time it was my turn to feel a part of the storm which had hitherto blown over me, or at some distance on each side from me. On the 5th of November, I received a letter from father Lawson, the *priest I formerly* mentioned, to give me notice, that the

king having made him a grant of his house, the manor of St. Mary's in York, for the honour of God and the good of his people, he expected from my usual civility, that I would give him free and easy possession. To which I answered, that I held it by virtue of a commission that constituted me governor of York; that he could not think I would divest myself of it by my own act and deed; that I had too great a veneration for the king's bounty, and was too proud of his service, to do that; but that if his majesty positively commanded it, I should have nothing to do but to obey; with this reserve, however, that if his majesty gave it away, I hoped, and in justice it was a duty incumbent on him to endeavour it, I was to have some equivalent for the loss. Several letters passed between us, till at length the Earl of Feversham sent me word, that it was actually granted; while Lawson flattered me with expectations that the king would consider me one way or other, and informed me of several things his majesty should say of me.

At length, on the 7th of December, father Lawson comes in person, and claims possession. It being in vain to contest with him, I ordered my housekeeper to give him admittance; but he left it again for the present, till I could move my goods. The clear profits of this place to me, besides the use of the house for myself and friends, and grass and hay for my horses while I staid in town, amounted to about forty pounds a year. After this, I expected the rest would soon follow; for the king had caused or ordered the lord-lieutenants of most, if not all, of the counties in England, to call together their deputies and the justices of the peace, and ask them these three questions: 1. If in case the king should call a parliament, and they should be chosen members of it; whether or no they would vote to take away the test and penal laws? 2. Whether or no they would give their vote for such members as they believed

would be for the repeal for the same? 3. Whether or no they would live peaceably, and as Christians ought to live, with such as differed from them in religion? Some lord-lieutenants who refused to comply with this order, were turned out, to give place to papists; and the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace, who did not return a satisfactory answer, were for the most part divested of office.

This certainly was pushing the point by much too far, nor could men forbear wondering to what purpose it could be meant; for what answer could any gentleman pretend to give, till he had heard the reasonings and debates of the house? And who could pretend to answer for the man he voted to be a member; or pretend to be sure of what sort of a mind he would be when he got to his seat in the house? If the general inclination had been to deceive the king, how easy was it for men to express themselves one way and resolve another? Besides, it was striking at the very foundation of parliaments, thus to pre-engage the members, who, according as things, upon their meeting, appeared to them, are by the laws of the land allowed freedom of speech, and freedom of judgment. But the most general answer that was returned by the protestants of the church of England was, that they, if of the house, would so vote, as the reasons of the debate should prevail with them; that they would vote for such as they thought would do the same; and that they would live quietly with all men as good Christians and loyal subjects. About this time there were great removes of officers, civil and military, and most corporations were purged of their church-of-England aldermen, and papists or dissenters appointed to succeed them. The king, however, soon after seemingly abated of the rigour of this scrutiny, though the lord-lieutenants continued the inquiry in most counties, but with very little success.

While this was transacting in England, the French

king was engaged in a high dispute with his holiness of Rome, concerning the immunities and franchises of ambassadors in that city, which, though all the princes of the catholic religion submitted to the regulation of, the King of France would not. His ambassador, who would have demanded the antient rights, was denied audience, and persisting in the thing, was declared excommunicated; the cardinals were forbidden to visit him as an ambassador; and the church of St. Lewis, reputed the parochial church of the French nation, whither the ambassador and his retinue repaired to the midnight mass of Christmas, was interdicted, for admitting him to partake of the devotions of the season. Upon notice of this, the parliament of Paris was assembled, and the attorney-general drew up an appeal from Rome to the next general council, setting forth that the pope had no just claim to infallibility; that he had no power to excommunicate princes; that his priestly authority was of no weight in temporals; and that the power of the keys was abused when subservient to evil ends. That his holiness had not only in this acted contradictorily to his character as vicar, but also in refusing bulls to such as his majesty had nominated and recommended to the vacant bishoprics in his own kingdom, for no reason but because they would not acknowledge him to be infallible, or, as the Italian doctors call him, Universal Monarch; that by this means there were no fewer than thirty vacancies unsupplied at this day; and that the pope's obstinacy ought to be controlled, as the custom had formerly been with the church, by œcumenic, or national councils. After this, and much more, the attorney withdrew, and was by the parliament admitted as an appellant in the case; the pope's bull was at the same time declared void; it was forbidden to disperse it within any part of the kingdom, and ordered that the king should be humbly entreated to exert his authority as to the

immunities and franchises of his ambassador at Rome; and to call such councils, or assemblies of great men, as might apply a remedy to the disorders that had arisen from the long vacancies of archbishoprics and bishoprics; and lastly, that he would prohibit all commerce with the court of Rome, nor suffer any money to be sent thither.

This was a strange sort of a scene to us in England. It was thought we were most inseparably linked together with our neighbour kingdom; but while the one is abjectly endeavouring to crouch to the lash, the other is seemingly resolved to slip her neck out of the collar. But on the 29th of January, 1687–8, a proclamation is heard, requiring public thanksgiving to be made, for that our queen found herself quick with child. The joy on account of this news, if it created any to speak of, was continually interrupted by some violent or unequal act or other, on the part of the king; among the rest, the Earl of Oxford, the first of his dignity in the realm, though low in fortune, being commanded to use interest in his lieutenancy for the repeal of the penal laws and test; and making answer, in plain terms, that he could not persuade others to that, which in his own conscience he was averse to, the king took his regiment of horse from him, and gave it to the Duke of Berwick. Some time afterwards, the Earl of Burlington resigned his commission for the lord-lieutenancy of the West-Riding of York, into the hands of the king, who immediately gave it to Lord Thomas Howard, only brother to the Duke of Norfolk, a warm and zealous papist, pursuant to the method his majesty had hitherto tenaciously observed with regard to most of the lieutenancies that became vacant in England.

The West-Riding of Yorkshire had not been examined as to the repeal of the test and penal laws; and now at the general quarter sessions at Pomfret, on the *24th of* April, 1688, the popish justices, in number six,

and Sir John Bointon, the king's serjeant, who, as I presume, aspired to be a judge, moved that an address of thanks might be signed and presented to his majesty, for his late indulgence as to matters of conscience, and that not only by all the justices, but by the two grand juries: but none of the justices, except the six above, and one Mr. Bull, nor either of the grand juries, would set their hands to this address; so that the Roman-catholics sent it up, signed by themselves, as the act of the whole sessions. By such tricks and artifices as these, the king was deceived in the opinion his subjects had of his late indulgence; three or four men, in several places as well as this, pretending to speak and answer for the whole corporation, or county.

A few days afterwards (May the 7th) a Roman-catholic justice told me, the king was now convinced, that he had been ill advised in pushing the question concerning the repeal of the test; that he intended to put out some justices and admit others, though not by that method, but by informing himself, from such as he knew to be true to his service, how they stood affected as to liberty of conscience; and that he had particular orders from the Lord Thomas Howard, who had the same from the king, to advise first with me upon that subject. I told him that the method lately taken had most assuredly been of no advantage to his majesty, most of the principal and powerful gentlemen, in every county, having been thereby thrust out of employment: but that this new method would be attended with as great difficulties, and be subject to the same fallacy, it being impossible for one man to pry into the recesses of another man's heart; nay, that it was even a hard matter for a man to promise for himself. For according to the supposition, he was to be either in parliament, or out of it; if he himself should be elected, he could not honestly promise which way he should vote, till he came to his seat, and heard the

debates; and that if he was not elected, it would be quite impossible in any degree to answer for the man he should chuse for his representative; that I believed most men thought a liberty of conscience might be of use and advantage to the nation, if settled upon a proper foundation, and with true regard to the rights and privileges of the church of England. To this he replied, that the king had openly declared the church of England should have any reasonable equivalent she could desire for her security, provided an act might pass for the liberty of conscience; and told me we should meet and talk farther upon this head, which for the present I evaded as much as possible; I cared not to explain myself quite, having no inclination to expose myself any farther than was barely needful, or to give characters of other men.

Having at two several times, in May, obtained leave to repair to London, I there found affairs to stand much in the posture I expected. The popish party was very urgent with the king to press the repeal of the laws against them, and the other as obstinate and headstrong against it; and what brought the dispute to a still greater degree of warmth, was owing to what follows: his majesty had lately renewed his proclamation for liberty of conscience, and given order to the bishops, to cause it be read in the churches of their respective dioceses. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the order, remonstrated against this; setting forth, in a petition they presented to the king, that they could not pay his majesty obedience in what he was pleased to require of them; that no bishop, or minister of the church of England could assent to the proclamation, which must of course be implied by their reading it, or causing it to be read; that a declaration of the same nature, on the part of the king, had been in parliament condemned twice in the *late reign; that* therefore they might be liable to be

called to an account hereafter, for doing what had been adjudged contrary to law; that though the king of himself *could do no wrong*, his ministers or agents were responsible for whatever was done infractory of the law; and though his majesty had been pleased to declare a liberty of conscience, it was, nevertheless, the duty of the clergy, as much as in them lay, to persuade men into an adherence to their communion; that for them to publish the king's pleasure, in the manner required, would be the same as if they told the people they needed not to come to church except they pleased; and that by the same rule he might command them to read mass in their churches, and be found to obey. These and many other arguments were, upon this occasion, offered by the bishops; at which the king conceived so violent a displeasure, that they were commanded to appear in council before him, on the 8th of June.

In the mean time, I kissed the king's hand on the 1st of June, and met with a gracious reception: I was honoured with a visit from the Marquis of Hallifax, who expressed himself pretty well inclined for liberty of conscience, but averse to the test and penal laws all at once, though he was seemingly not unwilling it should be done gradually, and upon wise and weighty considerations.

On the 8th of June seven of the bishops made their appearance before the king in council, where they were commanded to enter into recognizances of five hundred pounds a man, to answer to an information to be brought against them the next term, for disobedience to the king's orders. This they refused to do, saying they were not to engage themselves under any security of the kind, till the information or indictment was found, and that by so doing they should not only run counter to the law, but betray the liberty of the peerage; upon which the Archbishop of Canterbury and

his six brethren were committed prisoners to the Tower, a severity most deeply resented by the whole church. Being then at Whitehall, I saw the bishops going to take water for the Tower: they all looked very cheerfully, and the bishop of Chichester, in particular, called to me, and asked me how I did. The next day the Lord Huntingdon, one of the privy-council, told me, that had the king known how far the thing would have gone, he would never have laid the injunction he did, to have the declaration read in churches.

In the midst of this ferment, on the 10th of this month, being Trinity Sunday, about four minutes before ten in the morning, the queen was delivered of a prince, to the great joy of the court. But as important as this event might seem to be, little notice may be said to have been taken of it. The imprisonment of the bishops was now uppermost in the minds of most of the people, who flocked to them in such numbers, for their blessing, and to condole their hard usage, that great and very extraordinary remarks were made both of persons and behaviour. Among the rest, ten non-conformist ministers went to pay them a visit, which the king took so heinously, that he sent for four of them to reprimand them; but their answer was, "that they could not but adhere to the prisoners, as men constant and firm to the protestant faith;" or to that purpose. Nay, what is more extraordinary, the very soldiers that kept guard in the Tower, would frequently drink good-health to the bishops; which being understood by Sir Edward Hales, constable of the Tower, he sent orders to the captain of the guard, to see it was done no more; but the answer he received was, "that they were doing it at the very instant, and would drink that, and no other health, while the bishops were there."

At length, (June 15), the first day of the term came about, when the archbishop and the rest moving for

the *Habeas Corpus*, twenty-one of the very prime of the nobility appeared at the King's bench to bail them; and they were bailed accordingly. Upon this occasion the hall and Palace-yards were crouded with thousands of people; who begging their blessing as they passed, the archbishop freely gave it, and as freely, at the same time, exhorted them to be constant to their religion. A fortnight afterwards, on the 29th, an information was exhibited against their lordships in the King's-bench, for that they had framed and published a seditious libel, of which the jury would not find them guilty. The counsel for the bishops, the ablest of their profession in all England, produced such arguments in their behalf, that the judges were divided; two of them declaring that the proofs did not extend to the making their petition or address a libel; and two of them, that they did: which cost Sir Richard Holloway and Sir John Powell their seats on the bench, as soon as the term was over. In the course of this trial, the power of the king to dispense with the laws (that grand point) was most exquisitely discussed by the bishops' counsel, who were so much an over-match for the king's, that at court it was most heartily wished this business had never been pushed to such a crisis. Westminster-hall, the Palace-yards, and all the streets about, were thronged with an infinite people, whose loud shouts and joyful acclamations, upon hearing the bishops were acquitted, were a very rebellion in noise, though very far from so either in fact or intention. Bonfires were made, not only in the city of London, but in most towns in England, as soon as the news reached them; though there were strict and general orders given out to prevent all such doings; and the clergy preached more loudly, and more freely than ever against the errors of the Latin church. The next day I waited on the king to the camp on Hounslow-heath, where every body observed him to labour under a very great

disturbance of mind; but he spoke very kindly to me as I rode by him, on several occasions.

On the 12th of July, I was present as a justice, at the general sessions held for the Liberty of Westminster; and some days afterwards, at the same held for the county of Middlesex, at Hicks's-hall, where I found such a strange revolution among the justices of the peace, so many papists and fanatics put into the commission, that I neither sought business, nor chose to mix with them. At this last place there were several indicted as rioters, for that they had been concerned in making of bonfires, or contributed thereto; but the grand jury would find no bill, though they were sent out no less than three times; so generally did the love of the bishops and the protestant cause prevail. And now my Lord Hallifax advised me to consider with myself, whether as affairs stood, it were prudent to continue in my employments: I answered, I had great obligations to the king, and would serve him as well as I could, whilst he would allow me that honour, without concerning himself with my religion.

On the 13th, Lord Sunderland, who had been long suspected for a papist, openly declared himself of that communion, with the usual ceremonies, in the king's chapel; and ten or eleven days afterwards, the king went down to the Thames's mouth, as pretended, only to take a view of the fleet; but the real cause was to appease the seamen, who were ready to mutiny, on account of some of their captains, who had publicly celebrated mass in their ships. The king flattered them all he could; went from ship to ship; called them his children; said he had nothing to do with their religion, and that he granted liberty of conscience to all; but that he expected they would behave like men of honour and courage when there should be occasion for their service; though they were so far gratified, that all the priests were ordered on shore. Admiral Herbert, an

able seaman, whom the king had discarded from several great posts, because he would not promise to vote for the repeal, went privately away to Holland, where he was made rear-admiral; which raised anger in the king, and the rather, as a great many seamen went after him.

Some time afterwards in August, the Duke of Norfolk came to visit me in London; with whom discoursing upon the present situation of the kingdom, I found him a very firm and steady protestant, to which he had been converted in the late reign; and by no means satisfied with the court. Some days afterwards, carrying my wife and daughter to Windsor, to wait on the queen, I perceived the court to be under some consternation, and the king in an ill humour, though he was of an equanimity which made it difficult to discover, at the news that the Dutch had fitted out a large fleet as designed against us; and that the French and Dutch were on the brink of a rupture, and would each of them press us soon to know which side we would take. This, considering the jealousies we were under on account of religion, the violent discontents about the army, and the ill time of the day it was to call a parliament for fresh supplies of money, did very justly and reasonably disquiet the court. And now the first thing the king did, was to declare on the 24th of August, he would call a parliament, to meet the 27th of November following; protesting in council, that he was moved thereto more for the good and satisfaction of the nation, than for any apprehension he was under of the Dutch armament. However, he commanded all officers in general to their posts, and drew the forces out of other garrisons and places to man the sea-ports.

Designing for York, I took leave of his majesty on the 28th, but with terrible apprehensions that he would put the same question to me he had to others; con-

cerning the repeal; but he said nothing at all of it, only enjoined me to stand a candidate for the next parliament at York, which I would gladly have been excused, but it could not be; and so he wished me a good journey. Just at this time I had news, that the question had been put, the week before, to all our justices of the West-Riding, and that they had all answered in the negative; so that I could not but think I had a lucky escape.

I sent notice to the mayor and others of York, that I intended to stand for one of their representatives, at the ensuing election; and found the magistracy would be for the most part against me, though I had good encouragement from the other citizens. The truth is, I was at some loss to know how to act in this matter; I was not desirous to be of this parliament, not only because I was grown infirm and almost unfit to attend the duty of the house; but also because I was afraid the king would expect more from me than my conscience would extend to: for as I was determined not to violate this on the one side, so I could hardly resolve to offend so good a master on the other. In these straits, I went to the king at Windsor, and shewed him the letters I had sent to York, and the answers I had received thereto; desiring his majesty to indulge me with replies to three queries I had to make: 1. Whether, seeing the contest was like to be both chargeable and difficult, and the success extremely doubtful, it was his pleasure I should stand?—He replied positively, I should. 2. Whether, as the opposition was very strong against me, he would impute it to my remissness if I miscarried?—He promised he would not. 3. Whether he would assist me all he could to prevent my being baffled, and particularly by such means as I should propose to him?—His answer was, Yes: and he gave immediate orders to the lords for purging of corporations, to make whatever change or alteration I desired in the city of York,

and to put in or out; which the king it seems had reserved to himself by the last charter, just as I pleased. But I was careful of what I did in this regard: I considered that if I put out none, it would look as if I had no power, and debase me into contempt; and that if I displaced too many, it might exasperate the city against me, make them believe I was too deep in the court-interest, and prevent my success on the other hand: I therefore only desired that the lord-mayor might be dismissed his office, and Sir ——— Thompson appointed in his stead, which would prevent his being a member of parliament; and that too, Mr. Edward Thomson and Mr. Ramsden, who were my principal friends in the former election of me for York, and were afterwards turned out partly on my account, might be restored as aldermen. Then taking leave of the king, and having presented him with some Roman medals, which he took very kindly, he again charged me to do what I could to be chosen.

I afterwards desired Mr. Brent, the agent for corporation-matters, that if he had the power, I might, with some others I should name, be added to the bench of justices in that city, by a writ of assistance; which he promised me should be done. To leave this affair for the present; there had at this time been fifty Irishmen and papists sent for from Ireland, by the Duke of Berwick, in order to be incorporated into his regiment. Every captain was to have some; but Lieutenant-colonel Beaumont, and five captains more, who were all that were then on the spot, in quarters at Portsmouth, refused to take a man of them; saying their companies were complete, and that they were not to part with good soldiers and Englishmen, to make room for such as were inferior to them and foreigners; desiring they might choose their own men, or throw up their commissions. The Duke of Berwick took great offence at this, and sending an account of it to the king, he dispatched

twenty horse to bring them up in custody to Windsor-castle, where they were to be tried by a council of war; and they were brought up accordingly. I spoke to them just as they arrived, and found they were all resolved to stand it out; but they told me the duke had not offered a man of the Irish to any company, then in his grace's regiment, which was very kind of him on his part, and a miraculous escape on mine.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange and the Dutch ambassador had lately given the king assurances that their preparations were not against us; but his majesty, as if he made a doubt of it, ordered great things towards a fleet for the spring; and I was positively told by one, that he had actually twenty-five hundred thousand pounds in his coffers.

On the 10th of September, a council of war sat upon Colonel Beaumont and the five captains, and they were all cashiered, though with reluctance on the part of the king, who seemed to dread the consequences of it: they were offered forgiveness if they would but accept of the men, but they all refused it; which caused a great and general discontent throughout the army, and particularly in that regiment; most of which soon after quitted. The same day Sir Walter Vavasor, and Mr. Middleton, came up to make report to the king, of the answers they had received from the West-Riding and the corporations, to the queries they had put to them; in which I found the lord-mayor and aldermen of York were so faulty, that they would out of course, and that I needed not give myself the trouble of getting them removed, and more remarkably my greatest opposers; so I left them to their stars, and only insisted on the commission of assistance for myself and friends I should name; but every post brought me new fears I should not be chosen at York, though several alterations and restrictions from popular elections to a mayor and twelve aldermen, whom *the king* appointed as he pleased, were now made by

new charters, for the more certain election of such members as might be to the king's good liking. And now Lord Hallifax, when I took leave of him, which was on the 16th of September, advised me not to be too much in earnest with my election; at least not to make too free a use of the court-assistance, for many reasons he then offered to my consideration.

A few days afterwards I set out for Yorkshire; and being at my seat in the country, I received advice that my interest at York was much lessened by my absence; and what was still worse, that Lord Montgomery's company being ordered to march from that city, his lordship would, if I did not come speedily, be obliged to deliver up the keys into the hands of the lord-mayor; I therefore immediately posted away and received the keys, and the company marched. I represented it to the king as a great inconvenience, that there should not be so much as one company in garrison at York; and desired to know what I was to do with the keys? To the first of which his majesty answered, that upon more mature deliberation he had recalled the company; and that as to the second, I might dispose of the keys as I saw proper.

I desired the lord-mayor to call a hall, for that I had something to say to them. A hall was called on the 1st of October; but his lordship, the greatest enemy to my election, not having patience to stay till I came, dismissed it almost as soon as assembled, fearing I should make some proselytes to my interest. Just on the back of this comes down a proclamation, setting forth a certain intention the Prince of Orange had to invade this kingdom, by the assistance and with the concurrence of the States-general, both with a strong fleet and a numerous army; commanding all lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and all other his majesty's officers, to hold themselves in readiness to defend the king and kingdom. At this time Lord Thomas Howard

was lieutenant of the West-Riding, a rigid papist, and now gone ambassador to Rome. He had left but three deputies behind him, two of whom also were papists, and but two of the three were now in the country: while most of the gentry of Yorkshire were come to the city, expecting to meet with writs for the choice of members. I therefore pressed the high-sheriff to give notice to some gentlemen, while I convened others, for the next day; when Sir Henry Gooderick began a discourse, which I seconded, to shew how little we were able to serve the king with the militia, without another lord-lieutenant, under whom we might lawfully serve, meaning a protestant; and at the same time we subscribed a representation of our case to his majesty. I was well aware how very ungrateful this would be to him; but to obviate his displeasure, I gave him private intelligence of the intention to prepare it, and begged of him to excuse the concern I had therein, assuring him it was now absolutely for his service.

In the midst of this, on the 4th of October, comes down a special messenger to purge the corporation, to put out the former lord-mayor and aldermen, and to appoint others, almost all papists; but the commission was so defective, and there were such mistakes in the execution of it, as frustrated the design. The next day I prevailed with the lord-mayor to call a hall; upon which occasion I spoke to them a full half-hour, and so convinced them of the evil arts which had been put in practice against me, and the great injustice done me, that they all seemed to be converts in my favour; and to add to what I had said, I gave them up the keys, but made them own it as a courtesy, and promise to restore them to me again, whenever I desired it, for his majesty's service. And now Lord Fairfax, a Roman-catholic, and lord-lieutenant of the North-Riding, being at York, observed to me, it could be for no good end that the *Lords Devonshire* and Danby were come down to the

country; though the former pretended he was only come to view his estate, and the latter to drink the waters at Knaisbourgh. They were both of them frequently engaged in conversation at Sir Henry Goode-rick's, and the first of them came to York, where I paid all imaginable civilities to him, and received the same from him; the other I waited on at Sir Henry's, not once suspecting that men of their high quality and great estate could intend any thing prejudicial to the govern-ment or dangerous to themselves; and indeed their outward behaviour was very decent and innocent.

Two days afterwards I had an express from Lord Preston, the new secretary of state; Sunderland, who was turned papist, and had been the author of great mischief since he had been near the king, being laid aside; to acquaint me that his majesty had given a very kind reception to our representation on the part of the county, and that in compliance therewith he had named the Duke of Newcastle to be lord-lieutenant of all Yorkshire; and his grace coming to town soon after, appointed his deputies and militia officers, both horse and foot. The king began now, though fatally too late, to be sensible of his error in carrying matters to so enormous a length at the instigation of popish counsels; and now restored several justices of the peace in most counties, as also the old charters all England over; he now quits his hold of the Bishop of London, does justice to Magdalen-college, and begins again to court the church of England.

Amidst this hopeful reform, on the 10th of October comes news that the Prince of Orange increased daily, and that his fleet was ready to spread canvass for the sea. Three days afterwards I had orders from the king to receive seven hundred Scotch horse and dragoons, on their march from the northern kingdom; and in two days they arrived. I was in great hopes they would have taken up their quarters in York, for the security

of both the city and country; but the danger hourly approaching, the apprehensions of the Prince of Orange's descent growing stronger and stronger, and the king being willing to have his army in as numerous a plight as might be, they were ordered to continue their march southward, after they had been with us but three days. The Duke of Newcastle, who kept nothing a secret from me, told me he had heard Lord Danby had a great sum of money in the bank of Holland, and that he had been invited up to London by my Lord Bellassis and the king's order; that he had made some offers of his service, but that he had no manner of intention to go up; which last I very well knew from other hands.

On the 15th of October, upon some discourse with the Earl of Danby, at the dean's house, his lordship broke out into these expressions: "We are now every way in an ill condition in this kingdom.———If the king beats the Prince of Orange, popery will return upon us with more violence than ever.——If the prince beats the king, the crown and the nation may be in no small danger." The late lord-mayor being now superseded, though it was impossible to swear the new one in, because of some mistakes with regard to the new charter, it may be said that York was now a very remarkable place; for it was an archbishopric without a bishop, a city without a mayor, and a garrison without a soldier. But these defects were soon supplied; the old charter was restored and the old lord-mayor therewith; the Bishop of Exeter, who fled from that city upon the Prince of Orange's landing, was made Archbishop of York; and I had one company of foot sent to continue with me.

Strange it was, and a certain presage of the mischiefs which attended this invasion, that neither the gentry nor the commonalty were under any concern about it: *said they, "the* prince comes only to maintain the

protestant religion: —— he will do no harm to England." While, on the other hand, it was from court suggested that his aim was at the crown, and that the Dutch, who assisted him, grasped at the trade of England. In truth, his highness's declaration, when it made its appearance, (which was a little while before he landed), seemed to be dark and ambiguous enough; setting forth all the grievances of the nation with great aggravation, and asserting, "that the king's intention was to subvert the government both in church and state; that he designed to make himself absolute, and to extirpate the protestant religion; that to this purpose he had insisted on a dispensing power; that he had moulded and fashioned all the charters to his mind, to the end he might have such members of parliament as he desired; that he had examined and pre-engaged such as he intended should be of the house of commons; and that, what was worse, he had imposed a supposititious Prince of Wales upon the nation, merely to promote popery, and to defeat the Prince and Princess of Orange of their right of succession."

The king, understanding there was a great noise raised about this Prince of Wales, had, a little before the invasion, called an extraordinary council, whither all the nobility, bishops, and foreign ministers were summoned, before whom the queen-dowager, several lords and ladies, and the king's and queen's servants, to the number of forty, as well protestants as papists, gave pregnant evidence concerning the birth of this prince; all which was re-examined in chancery upon oath, and there recorded.

On the 29th of October a report arrived that the Dutch fleet had been miserably shattered by tempest; that Lord Sunderland was certainly out, and Lord Preston, secretary of state in his stead. The king meanwhile made great preparations for war, and had swelled up his army, as was computed, to six thousand

horse and dragoons, and thirty-eight thousand foot: the fleet also was out, under the command of Lord Dartmouth, but much inferior to the Dutch, and did nothing to the purpose. Three days afterwards the Prince of Orange's declaration, conveyed by an unknown hand to a citizen of ours, was brought to me; and I immediately transmitted it to the secretary of state. Orders were at the same time sent down to us to secure the Lord Lumley, then in the North-Riding; but the gentleman, Colonel John Darcy, who was charged with this commission, pretended he could not find him; though it afterwards appeared his lordship was not far off, and might have been seized at pleasure. The next day I had an express from the secretary at war, signifying that the Dutch fleet had been seen off Dover, steering their course to the westward: which gave us some hopes there was no danger of their landing in the North. In three days more I received by another express, that the prince was actually arrived at Torbay, in the West, (on the 5th of this month, November), and that he had marched straight to Exeter, attended by Marshal Schomberg, an old and experienced officer, together with a number of our own nobility and gentry of considerable name, and a great land-army.

I immediately sent the Duke of Newcastle word of this invasion, though he had notice of it from above; but he wrote back, that the prince being landed at such a distance, his presence would be no way necessary at York. I thought this a very weak answer, and sent him word that the danger was not only from the invaders, but also from their confederates at home; and that it was impossible the prince should dare to attack England with an army of under 20,000 men, if he was not very sure of assistance from ourselves. The deputy-lieutenants, being ten in number, were now all at York, and being very solicitous to preserve peace, quiet, and good order, proposed a meeting of the gentry and free-

holders of the county, to be held on Thursday the 19th instant, in order to draw up some declaration of unshaken loyalty to the king in this time of danger; as also to consult on such matters as might be for the honour of God, and our own welfare and safety. This being a motion made by Sir Henry Gooderick, I seconded it; and observed that an address of such a tenor might give some satisfaction to the government, and be a discouragement to its enemies. Accordingly a summons was drawn up, to be dispersed all the country over; and in the mean time I wrote up to Lord Preston, the secretary of state, to acquaint him with this seemingly intended loyal address from the gentlemen in our parts, and sent a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, desiring him to make one of the company.

On the 15th of November, being at dinner with Lord Fairfax, Sir Henry Gooderick, and others, at a gentleman's who had invited us, the clerk of the peace of the West-Riding comes in, to give us notice of a new commission, in which some thirty of the principal gentlemen of the neighbourhood were left out; and among the rest, Sir Henry himself. This threw him into such a rage, that he vowed he was sorry he had promoted the meeting he had for the service of the king; but I heard that at this intended assembly there were to have been some points discussed, which would not have been of so grateful a nature to the court: for it was at the same time the design to have petitioned for a speedy and a free parliament, and for other concessions which were to have been demanded and insisted upon. But all this was all along denied to me, and particularly by Sir Henry Gooderick; who being an open man, I confess I added faith to his words: but friendship is too often a blind to the eyes.

On the 19th the Duke of Newcastle himself came to York, and said he heard there was a design to petition for a free parliament, and that he thought it not fit

there should be so much of the militia together. I sat that night with his grace till it was twelve of the clock; and we came to a resolution, that if the petition or intended address was not conceived in terms of the strictest loyalty, we would not set our hands to it. The next day his grace called together his deputy-lieutenants, and asked them, if there was any thing meant by their assembly on Thursday, more than to make a declaration of loyalty to his majesty? Whereupon Sir Henry Gooderick, who was one of them, declared plainly, that he intended to petition for a free parliament, and hoped that the rest, who should meet, would concur therein, after the example of a late petition from some bishops and some temporal lords. The duke took this so much amiss, that he declared he would not stay to be affronted or overruled by his deputies; and that he would be gone the next day. I made opposition to this; observing that no absolute resolution could be taken till the gentlemen appeared; and that if aught else besides a mere declaration of loyalty were thought necessary, it might be so penned, and with that modesty as both to satisfy here, and not displease above; in short, that his grace ought, at all events, to be on the spot in a time of such great trouble and difficulty. But he went away according to his word, saying nobody had been of his side but myself.

On the 22d came the day of meeting; a fatal one I think. I would not go to them at the common-hall, which was the place appointed; nor indeed was I very well able, by reason of some bruises I had received by my horses falling upon me: but I heard that in the midst of about a hundred gentlemen who met, Sir Henry Gooderick delivered himself to this effect: "that there having been great endeavours made by the government of late years to bring popery into the kingdom, and by many devices to set at naught the laws of the land, there could be no proper redress of

the many grievances we laboured under, but by a free parliament; that now was the only time to prefer a petition of the sort; and that they could not imitate a better pattern than had been set before them by several lords spiritual and temporal." There were those who differed with him in opinion, and would have had some expressions in the paper moderated and amended; and observed, that at the same time they petitioned as they designed, it would be but their duty to assure his majesty, they would stand firm by him in the midst of the dangers which threatened both him and his kingdoms, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; but this was over-ruled. When therefore the draught was completed according to the mind of Sir Henry Goodericke and his friends, though several disliked it and went away, they proceeded to sign; but before a third man could subscribe it, in comes one Mr. Tankard, with a rueful story that the papists were risen; and that they had actually fired upon the militia-troops. Alarmed at this, the gentlemen ran out; and those that were privy to the design betook them to their horses, which were conveniently at hand for their purpose. Lord Danby, meanwhile in his lodging, waited for the false alarm, and mounted, with his son, Lord Lumley, Lord Horton, Lord Willoughby, and others, who, together with their servants, formed a body of horse, consisting of a hundred in number, well mounted, and well accoutred. These rode up to the four militia-troops, drawn out on another account, and cried out, *a free parliament; the protestant religion; and no popery!* The captains of these troops were Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Gower, Mr. Robinson, and Captain Tankard; who being admitted of the secret the night before, though prompt and ready enough in their nature for any action of the kind, immediately cried out the same, and led their troops over to them. In the first place they went to the main guard of the

standing company, which (the number not exceeding twenty) they surprized, before I had the least notice or even jealousy of what was in agitation; not thinking it possible that men of such quality, such estates, could give way to their discontent, however great and just it might be, to the degree of engaging themselves in an attempt so desperate, and so contrary to the laws they boasted, and the religion they professed. But I had no sooner notice of what had been transacted, than I sent for the officers and the guard, and understood they were prisoners. I then sent to each captain of the four troops, enjoining him to bring his troop to me as the king's governor, as also to the main guard of the militia foot: but they would not stir a step: they would hearken to no orders. I then sent for my own horses, and was just ready to go to the troops, in hopes, by my presence, to regain them to the king's service; when Sir Henry Bellassis, who had commanded a regiment in Holland, under the prince, and had lurked about a long while in Yorkshire for his highness's service, drew up a party of thirty horse before my door, and prevented my stirring abroad, till Lord Danby and his principal companions came up to me.

His lordship told me, that to resist were to no manner of end or purpose; that himself, and the gentlemen with him, were in arms for a free parliament, and the preservation of the protestant religion and government, as by law established; which the king had almost brought to nothing, and which the Prince of Orange was come to restore; and that he hoped I would join them in so laudable an effort. I made answer, that I was for a free parliament and the protestant religion as well as they, but that I was also for the king. His lordship replied, that he was so too; and that he hoped, as we agreed in principles, we should concur in action: I told him though we exactly agreed in the matter, we differed widely as to the

manner; and I could not conceive it lawful to extort any thing from the crown by any manner of force; and that, as I had the honour of being his majesty's governor for York, it was impossible, whatever the consequences might be, for me to join in concert with those who openly and avowedly acted in repugnance to and contempt of his authority and commission. His lordship then said, "he must imprison me;" to which I made answer, "that I was naked and destitute of friends and assistance, and that I acknowledged myself in his lordship's power, to do with me as he would." But after some short consultation, his lordship told me, he knew me to be a man of honour, and that he should think my engagement not to stir, to be as sure and as close a restraint upon me, as a guard or a prison; so that, upon the pledge of my honour, I was to confine myself to my room; his lordship, however, recommended what he had offered to my farther consideration. They then seized on all the gates, posted strong guards every where, and suffered none to go in or out; they secured such persons as betrayed a dislike to their proceedings, and especially the officers of the company; but the company itself revolted to them the next day.

Gathered to this head, the next day they visited the magazine and stores, which God knows, were next to nothing, notwithstanding all my most pressing remonstrances to the king, both formerly and of late. The militia-troops then, and some of the gentlemen who came in to serve as volunteers, and who were not above sixty, ransacked the houses of several papists, for priests, arms, and horses, which they took wherever they found them. They seized also on a company of foot new raised, but not yet armed, in their quarters at Tadcaster; and a company of grenadiers, as they were on their march for London, by the way of York: but as yet they touched the property of no man but the king's, the papists and myself excepted; for they made

very free with my coals, and the other provision that I had laid in for the use of the garrison.

On the 24th the earl caused the lord-mayor to call a hall; where his lordship made a speech, setting forth the reason for their rising, and of their declaration; desiring the city would join with them in the latter: and they signed it accordingly; as did also a number of gentlemen. This declaration being the next day printed, there appeared of hands of lords to it six; of lords' sons, three; of baronets, five; of knights, six; of esquires and gentlemen, sixty-six; and of citizens of York, fifty-six. We had now news from Nottingham, that the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Delamere, and many more noblemen and gentlemen were risen also in those parts, and that great numbers flocked in to them.

Meanwhile the king was on his march to Salisbury, which he had appointed to be the general rendezvous of his whole army, having sent the young prince, his son, to Portsmouth, as the report was by some; but to France according to others. In a day or two, I made it my request to the Earl of Danby, that he would give me leave to be a prisoner at my own house in the country, where I promised to act nothing to his prejudice, but to acquiesce, and abide by my word as a true prisoner. Hereupon he sent for me to come and dine with him; and at my coming into the room told me, that, to give me the better stomach to my meal, I might, upon the terms I had proposed, depart whenever I pleased. At dinner his lordship told me, the Duke of Newcastle's absence had been what principally favoured their design; and that he doubted not but I had some fear or suspicion of what was going forward: I answered, that I did indeed believe they would go very high in their petition, but never imagined so many gentlemen of their rank and quality would have ventured upon so perilous an expedient;

and that if I had been aware of it, I should certainly have made a resistance, though to ever so little purpose, or at least have made my escape out of the town. I had discourse with several of these gentlemen, and perceived that they began to reflect on what they had done, as of more danger than they at first thought of, and found they were troubled, that men came in so slowly to them. Lord Willoughby said it was the first time that any *Bertie* had been concerned against the crown; that it was a grief to him, but that the necessity of the times was fatally such, that there had been no avoiding it. To this I observed, that the flagrant invasion on our rights might have been restrained without a repelling force, and that a thorough and plain representation of our injuries, properly urged on the part of the whole kingdom, could not have failed to reduce the king to a better and juster sense of what he was about; that the great want of money, the violent distraction of the nation, and a plain discovery that popery could never again be imposed upon us, would have obliged his majesty, for his own sake, for his own safety and interest, to have altered the tenor of his conduct. Sir Henry Gooderick would then have persuaded me to sign their declaration, but I told them I could not possibly do it; for that though I should be of a mind with them, as to the matter it contained, yet being now in arms I could not, in my judgment, conceive but a concurrence with them, as to the contents of their paper, might be justly construed into a joining with them in the force. Mr. Tankard also most earnestly pressed me to be with them, but I held out. In the midst of this comes the clerk of the peace to give me notice of a new commission that was brought down, which restored all the gentlemen of the West-Riding I have formerly observed to have been turned out; but that myself and two more were omitted. Lord Danby immediately took up this,

and told me it was plain there was a resentment against me, and that it was very evident I should meet with worse quarter on the other side, than from them; but all this had no manner of effect upon me. The next day the Duke of Newcastle sent orders to his captains of horse to dismiss the militia troops; but they, instead of obeying his orders, laughed at him for his ill-timed message.

This day I obtained a pass of their generalships to go to my own home, upon my parole that I would confine myself there, nor exceed the bounds of five miles about; and live peaceably and quietly, and abstain from all manner of hostile action. We had now news as if the army had voted for a free parliament, though at the same time they declared they would defend his majesty's person from all men without exception: the very matter I desired to be the contents of our Yorkshire petition. But on the heels of this laudable resolution, it happened, as we were told, that a number of great men, officers of the army, and particular confidents of the king, had revolted and gone over to the Prince of Orange; particularly, that on the 19th of November, the king having then reached Salisbury, where his army was rendezvoused, the Lord Churchill, one of his major-generals, under pretence of shewing him his out-guards, misled his majesty into a train which must have betrayed him to the hands of a party of the Prince of Orange's army, had not an immoderate bleeding at the nose prevented the king from proceeding; and that the said lord perceiving his design to be thus frustrated, immediately went over to the prince, accompanied by the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkley, and others; though, it must be observed, that this Lord Churchill was raised, from a page to the king, to the degree of a viscount of England, and in possession of a great estate therewith, which was entirely owing to his majesty's bounty. The king,

astonished, and not knowing whom to trust, returned to Andover on the 24th, where he sat at supper with Prince George of Denmark, his son-in-law, and the Duke of Ormond; but to the surprize of all men, they both deserted him that very night, and withdrew to the prince, together with others of good note and account. The very next day, the Princess of Denmark departed privately from Whitehall, in company with Lady Churchill, and took refuge at Nottingham. Now the number of all that thus forsook the king did not as yet amount to one thousand; but such a mutual jealousy now took birth, that there was no relying on anyone, no knowing who would be true and honest to the cause; wherefore the army and artillery were ordered to retire back towards London, where his majesty arrived on the 26th; his out-quarters being at Windsor, Reading, and places round about.

The next day he called together all the lords spiritual and temporal then in town, being about fifty in number; and pursuant to their advice, writs were immediately issued out for calling a free parliament, and for removing all Roman-catholics from councils and employments; for issuing out a general pardon to all who were with the prince, and for sending commissioners to treat with him. The proclamation accordingly came out, the parliament was to meet upon the 15th of January next ensuing, and the Lords Hallifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, were appointed commissioners to the prince. But to return back a little to our northern parts: Kingston upon Hull, or Hull, that considerable garrison, was surprized by Mr. Copley, the lieutenant-governor, on the 28th of November; who gathering a party to him, seized the governor himself, Lord Langdale, in the night, as also a number of Roman-catholics who fled for refuge to that place; and the soldiers joining in the treachery, they declared for the king, and the protestant religion, and sent

immediate notice to York of what they had done. About the same time a party was dispatched from York to seize the Duke of Newcastle's horses and arms; which they did, but no manner of attempt or injury was offered to his grace's person. In short, there were but few gentlemen in our parts of the county that adhered to the king; nor indeed in any part of the north of England.

On the 10th of December, Plymouth, Bristol, and other places, submitted themselves to the prince, and the defection began to be general. In the midst as it were of this, the Prince of Wales is brought from Portsmouth to London, when every soul concluded he was in France: but he made no continuance; the queen the very next night, being Sunday, carrying him, about twelve of the clock, down to a vessel privately prepared, which by a favourable gale was wafted over to Dunkirk. The next day a regiment of Scotch horse deserted to the prince; nor was there an hour scarce but his majesty received, like Job, ill news of one sort or other; so that, prompted thereto by most fatal advice, he the next day, being the 11th, withdrew himself privately, attended only by two or three persons, to follow the Queen, as was then most commonly believed. This was very extraordinary and quite wonderful: for his commissioners having just before sent him word, that affairs might be managed with the prince to his majesty's satisfaction, he had summoned his cabinet council to meet the next day, at nine in the morning; though it seems he intended nothing less than to be with them; for he went away that very night, without so much as leaving any order or direction behind him. The lord-chancellor withdrew at the same time, and took the broad seal along with him; so that all was now in the utmost confusion, nor is the consternation to be expressed. Upon this *the lords*, as well spiritual as temporal, wrote to his

highness of Orange, to let him know the king was gone from them, and to acquaint him they would endeavour to keep things in order till they could receive his directions, and to invite him to town.

The rabble had been before sufficiently incensed against the papists; but now apprehending, and reasonably enough, that the king had withdrawn himself by their advice, or rather at their instigation, they grew to that height of outrage, that, rising in prodigious multitudes, and dividing themselves into great parties, they pulled down the chapels of that worship, as well as the houses of many of its professors, taking and spoiling their goods, and imprisoning such as they suspected to be priests: nor did they spare even the chapels and houses of ambassadors, and other foreign ministers; and particularly the Spanish ambassador, who, as was generally computed, of his own and others who sought his protection, had goods and plate to the value of one hundred thousand pounds taken from him; what was of less worth, and belonging to that superstition, was burnt publicly in the street. The same day, the lord-chancellor, who had waited too long for the tide, though in the disguise of a seaman, and destitute of his eye-brows, which he had purposely cut off, was stopt at Wapping, taken and committed to the Tower by order of the lords. He was first brought to the lord-mayor upon suspicion only; but being soon known, they were obliged to give him a strong guard, or he had certainly been torn to pieces. Pen, the great quaker, a man of reputed wit, and much consulted by the king, with regard to the dispensing power he would unfortunately have usurped, and the scheme of liberty of conscience, was taken also; as was father Peters, that incendiary, that scandal to the privy-council, where he was the first of his pernicious order that had sat for many a year before.

The king, however, upon his departure wrote to the

general officers of his army, signifying, that things being brought to extremities, and being obliged to send away the queen and the prince, he was forced to follow himself; but hoped it might, at some time or other, please God to touch the hearts of this nation with true loyalty and honour: that, could he but have trusted to his troops, he would at least have one blow for it; but that though there were some loyal and brave men among them, both officers and soldiers, it was their advice to him not to venture himself at their head, or to fight the Prince of Orange with them. He thanked those for their fidelity who had been true to him; and added, that though he did not expect they should expose themselves, by resisting a foreign army, and a poisoned nation, he hoped they would preserve themselves disengaged from associations and all such evil doings. In the postscript he told them, that as he had ever found them loyal, so they ever had and ever should find in him a kind master. Lord Feversham, then commanding as general, dispatched this letter to the Prince of Orange; and sent him word, that having thereby directions to make no opposition, he had, to prevent the effusion of christian blood, given notice of the same to his army, which had thereupon in great measure disbanded.

His majesty, in the mean time, endeavouring to forsake the kingdom, in a hoy, with few of his attendants, among whom was Sir Edward Hales; and stretching over from an island in Kent, was boarded by a boat, with thirty-six armed men, who were bound, as they called it, a priest-codding, or catching. They used the king, but especially those that were with him, with great rudeness and incivility, and took from his majesty three hundred guineas, all he was at that time worth, and his sword: but when they came to understand who he was, they offered to restore him both; but he would *take back* nothing but his sword. Being brought to

shore, he went to Lord Winchelsea's, where he was taken with another fit of bleeding at the nose, which made him very weak and very sick. Information of this being sent up to the lords at Whitehall, they ordered four noblemen, Aylesbury, Middleton, Yarmouth, and another, with some of his servants, to attend him, and carry him necessaries; some of the guards also, and Lord Feversham, waited upon him; but their orders were to leave it to his majesty's own choice, either to go or to return; it being deemed unfit to put any restraint upon him. Much about the same time, the Lords Peterborough and Salisbury, who had been lately converted by father Walker, master of University-college in Oxford, were also taken: but the Prince of Orange being invited to London, had reached Windsor before he knew the king had been intercepted.

Before his highness came to town, he sent his own people to possess themselves of the Tower: he quartered them in and near the town, and posted them at Whitehall; and at two in the morning sent his majesty notice, that he must remove thence that day to some place ten or twelve miles distant, and be attended by his highness's guards. His majesty therefore went to Rochester, attended by Lord Dunbarton, Lord Aylesbury, and Lord Arran; and then the prince came to St. James's, where he was complimented by many of the nobility; the bells rang, bonfires were lighted up, nor was any public profession of joy wanting among the rabble; while serious men in the city seemed to think it hard the king should be so forced to withdraw himself a second time.

The prince, upon his arrival, seemed more inclined to the presbyterians than to the members of the church; which startled the clergy: he ordered as many of the king's forces to be gathered together as possible, and confined Lord Feversham to Windsor-castle for having disbanded them, and for other matters laid to his

charge; nor must we forget, that his highness assumed so much to himself, as to make the Duke of Beaufort wait full four hours before he would give him admittance. The king alarmed at this proceeding, began to think himself in danger, and sent to the lords, signifying, it was his desire to go out of the kingdom. Their lordships took some time to consider on the answer they were to make; but while they were in the midst of their deliberation, he gratified himself in his own desire, and went privately away. And now the English guards and other troops were, by the prince, sent to the distance of twenty miles from London, to make room for the foreign soldiery he had brought with him.

The lords having for some time sat in their house, and finding that his majesty would not appoint another chancellor or keeper, nor produce the great seal; the lords, I say, being about sixty in number, as well spiritual as temporal, Lord Hallifax being in the chair, made an order to banish all papists that had not kept house for four years last past, to the distance of ten miles from the city. Their lordships ceased not to sit, though it was Christmas-day; and, among other things, framed an address to the prince, that he would take the government on himself, till affairs could be settled; and the next day a certain number of lords were appointed to wait on him therewith; but his highness said, he could give no answer to it, till he had the opinion of the commons; for it was but two days before that he had ordered the lord-mayor and fifty of the aldermen and common-council, together with all such gentlemen as had been members of parliament in the late reign, and were in town, to meet together in the house of commons, to sit there as a committee, in imitation of the lords. They met accordingly, to the number of about three hundred, and voted a concurrence with the lords in most things, and particularly in their address to the prince to take the government upon him

till the 22d of January, when a convention was to be summoned; the writs, it should seem, that had been issued out for the calling of a parliament, and the elections that had thereupon been made, becoming void and of none effect. All this was transacted in the midst of almost a dead calm, no mischief was attempted, no disorders raised or fomented, but all was peace, acquiescence, and submission.

On the 28th of December, the prince having received this address, replied, that he would, according to their advice, endeavour to secure the peace of the nation till the meeting of the convention; and that in order to the said meeting, he would issue out his letters to the several counties and towns; that he would take care the revenue should be applied to the most proper uses the exigencies of affairs required; that he would do his best to put Ireland into such a condition as might best maintain the protestant religion and English interest in that kingdom; and that he would at all times hazard himself for the laws and liberties of these kingdoms, and the preservation of the protestant faith; it being the very end for which he come.

News now came, that the king was safe arrived in France; and that he was gone to the queen, who was at Paris. The French king at first prepared the castle of Vincennes for their reception and entertainment; but their majesties afterwards removed to St. Germains. The king thus absent in a strange land, the Lord Tyrconnel, Lieutenant of Ireland, nevertheless remained firm and steadfast to his majesty, with a numerous army of papists; while Lord Inchequin headed another of protestants, and had taken Londonderry, and some other strong towns in that kingdom.

And now being at liberty to go where I pleased, on the 22d of January, 1688-9, I repaired to London: where being arrived, I was presently sensible of a great alteration; the guards, and other parts of the army,

which both for their persons and gallantry were an ornament to the place, were sent to quarter at a distance, while the streets swarmed with ill-favoured and ill-accoutred Dutchmen, and other strangers of the prince's army; and yet the city seemed to be mightily pleased with their deliverers, nor perceived their deformity, or the oppression they laboured under, by far more unsupportable than ever they had suffered from the English.

Though the convention met on the 22d, there was nothing considerable done till the 28th, when, the settlement of the nation being taken into consideration by the commons, they voted, "That King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the government of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and the people; and, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, having subverted the fundamental laws; and having, lastly, withdrawn himself from the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and the throne was thereby vacant." The next day the lords entered upon the consideration of the same; and several motions were made, as there had been the day before in the house of commons. Some would have had the king recalled upon terms; but these were few: others would have had the government continued in the king's name, while the prince was invested with the executive power by the stile or title of regent, or protector: some, again, were for having it that the king should forfeit the crown, and the prince be elected thereto; and others, again, were for having the prince and princess crowned, as in the case of Philip and Mary; and that the prince should be king by descent in right of his wife, while no notice was to be taken of the Prince of Wales, who should be rendered incapable to succeed, as a Roman-catholic, he having been baptized in that church. On the 30th, their lordships voted a concurrence with the commons as to the main point, the vacancy of the

throne; but could not agree with them as to certain words: and so adjourned the debate till the next day, though it was carried by no more than so small a majority as three. The same day the commons resolved, first, that it had been found inconsistent for a protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince; secondly, that a committee should be appointed to bring in general heads of what was absolutely necessary for the better security of our religion, laws, and liberty. This last vote or resolution was of most high importance, and wisely intended to give birth to the conditions on which the person that next filled the throne should be entitled thereto, and to bind him down to a more strict observance of what ought to be, than had heretofore been the case. Meanwhile, the prince seemed not at all to concern himself with what was going forward; and only desired that, the circumstances of Holland and Ireland requiring it, they would make all possible dispatch, and come to as early a conclusion as they could.

The next day was appointed a festival of thanksgiving for his highness's arrival, as it was worded; "To deliver us from popery and slavery;" but it was observed that the public expressions of joy flowed not to the height expected; which, whence it came to pass, might be in part accounted for here, but may be better deferred to a little distance of time. The same day the lords sat, and resumed their debate; but differed with the commons as to their term, *abdicated*, and would have had, *deserted*, substituted in lieu thereof; nor could they quite agree with them, that the throne was absolutely vacant; so that there was still room for the constitution of a regent or protector, or even for a revocation of the king himself upon terms.

In the midst of this, on the 1st of February, I saw Lord Hallifax, in company with Mr. Seymour, the quondam speaker of the commons, a man of great parts,

and much for continuing the power in the king's name, and even in his person, could we but be secured from the danger of popery. Dr. Burnet also was present, who with great violence argued that the prince was to be crowned; and urged, that England could never be happily settled till his highness was at the helm, and this kingdom in strict conjunction with Holland. Seymour said his proposals were impracticable; for that if the prince was king, he must maintain himself as such, by the means of an army, which was not to be relied on against their natural sovereign. He observed, that as the late English Army would not fight for popery, they would be as backward in fighting against their king; and that it was impossible for England and Holland to join heartily in one and the same interest, being suitors, as they were, to one and the same mistress, namely, *trade*. That same night my Lord Hallifax told me, he was not at first in the secret of the prince's expedition; but that as his highness was now with us, and upon so good an occasion, he thought we were obliged to stand by and defend him. I told him, I had heard Lord Danby expected to be beforehand with him in the prince's good graces; but he gave me some reasons to make me believe otherwise; took notice that his lordship began to lag in his zeal; and concluded that the said lord could have no hopes of being treasurer, his highness having declared he would have commissioners for the execution of that office. His lordship then proceeded to tell me he himself should be employed, and offered to me some arguments to prove the legality of serving under the future government; particularly that though the king had relinquished his function, the constitution was not for that reason to be suffered to fall; that fall it must, if men would not act under those to whom it was delegated; in fine, that in our present circumstances the *salus populi* was to be the *lex suprema*. His lordship then continued, that there were so many

who declined to serve, and so few who were fit for it, that if I had a mind to engage myself, there would be, doubtless, room sufficient for me; and that, after things were upon a stable foundation, I might entertain some thoughts of being sent ambassador to some prince or state, whereby I might be out of the way, till the clouds which hung over us, were dispersed and blown away. His lordship then offered to carry me the next morning to the prince, whom I had not yet seen; advised me to be cautious of the company I kept, and to be very circumspect in all my actions and behaviour.

The next day I went to meet the marquis, who was with the prince in his bedchamber; but coming out to me, he told me his highness could not be publicly seen for two hours yet to come; and advised me to defer the waiting on him till the next day. At the same time the lords, who were for conferring the crown immediately on the prince, began to apprehend the adverse parties might prevail against them; wherefore they found means to stir up the people, who in a tumultuous manner, offered a petition to the two houses of parliament, that they would crown both the Prince and Princess of Orange, and take speedy care of liberty and property, as well as for the defence of Ireland. But the lords rejected it, because it was not signed; and the commons did the same, saying, they would not be awed in their votes, nor be directed; for that they ought to be free. The very same day the king sent two letters, the one to the lords, the other to the commons; but the messenger not being present to testify they were brought from the king, they were laid by, and the person who brought them was ordered to attend on the lords the Monday morning next. At this very juncture I was told, by a court-lady, that it was much wondered my friend, the Marquis of Hallifax, had been so eager for the king's having abdicated the government, when he absolutely knew his majesty

would never have gone, if he had not been frightened into it. She assured me his lordship had treated with the king to come again into business, a few weeks before the prince's intention was certainly known: that she was the very person his lordship sent to the king; that the king actually gave him a meeting at her house: that they had agreed upon terms; nay, what is more, that his lordship had treated with some priests for his return to court. That upon this account his majesty particularly depended upon him, when he named him one of the commissioners to go to the prince; that after having conferred with his highness, he sent the king a private letter, intimating an ill design against his person, and that this was the real cause of his majesty's flight, and the departure of the queen. That after the king was brought back, Lord Hallifax was one of the peers that came and admonished him, on behalf of the prince, to leave Whitehall, for Rochester or Ham, within the short space of two hours; and that his lordship's reason for conveying this ungrateful message to his majesty, was, that he was assured the prince's party had in council resolved to seize on his person, and imprison him. That upon the whole it must be notoriously known to his lordship, that the king had no manner of inclination to withdraw either the first or the second time; and that he was compelled thereto out of a principle of mere self-preservation. She farther imparted to me, that the king was so terribly possessed of his danger, and so deeply afflicted when the Princess Anne went away, that it disordered him in his understanding; but that he recovered pretty well upon his return. She continued, that the second time he went away, he so little designed any such thing, that he knew not which way to set forward; one while he resolved to go northward, and throw himself into the hands of the Lord Danby; another, he had thoughts of going to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the

Bishop of Winchester: that she herself was sent to these last, to know if they would receive and secure him: and that they neither accepted the motion, nor rejected it. She told me moreover, that the lords intended to make use of the marquis for the prince's service, but were far from intending him any advantage thereby. That his lordship having been the first that advised the taking away of the charters, he would be in some danger of being called to an account for it, as soon as the government was well settled; as well as for other articles, he having great enemies among the party to which he adhered. At last she desired me, if possible, so to contrive that she might speak to his lordship, and endeavour to moderate him so far as to make him think well of a regency, and not hurry on so fast for a forfeiture or abdication. I told her I would do what I could in it; but was sensible his lordship was too far engaged to recede. The same lady again told me a great lord of Scotland had, but a few days before, assured her, that in case the two houses agreed to make the government vacant, that kingdom would choose for herself, be no more a province to England, nor give any longer attendance at the door of an English Court.

The lords this day did nothing more than order the eighth of February, which used to be kept as the anniversary of his majesty's accession, to be no longer observed as a festival; and sent down their resolution to the commons concerning the abdication, and other matters thereto relating: which the commons, the day after, taking into consideration, they resolved to adhere, *totidem verbis*, to their first vote.

On the 2d I saw the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Burlington, the Earl of Scarsdale, and some other lords, who had all been active in the prince's cause, which they now seemed in some measure to repent. Some of them said, the thing had run a length they

little expected; others, that they could never have believed the prince would have contended for the crown; but all agreed in opinion, it was to be set on the head of the princess, and so descend in its right course: and the Earl of Scarsdale particularly told me, the Princess of Denmark was very sensible of the error she had committed in leaving her father, to make herself of a party with the prince; who now in return was endeavouring to put her by her right, and to obtain priority of succession before her.

On the 4th, the lords having sent down to the commons their reasons for abiding by their word *deserted*, and why they thought there was no vacancy; the house thereupon divided; the ayes being 183, and the noes 251. The next day the houses had a free conference; the issue of which was, that the day after, being the 6th, the lords concurred with the commons. A vacancy being thus on all hands pronounced, the lords proceeded to consider in what manner the throne was to be filled; and in the end passed a vote, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be proclaimed by the style and title of King William and Queen Mary. But the commons proceeded a step farther, and voted that all sanction of the laws, and the negative voice, should be vested in the king singly; declaring it improper there should be two negatives: that the succession of the crown should be to the new king and queen, and to the survivor of the two; then to their issue, and in default thereof, to the Princess Anne and her issue; and in default of such issue, to the issue of the king in case he should have any by another venter, and so to the right line, papists being always excluded.

On the 8th, the commons having completed a scheme of grievances and usurpations on the rights of the subject, sent up the same to the lords for their concurrence, intending to lay them before the prince for redress, at

the same time they made him a tender of the crown of England with all its dependencies.

Meanwhile the Marquis of Hallifax desired me to get the lady, I just now mentioned, to my house; where he gave her a meeting on the 9th; and was two hours in conversation with her. During which, he afterwards told me, she was so free with him as to say, she wondered he, of all men living, should contend that the king had abdicated, when he knew himself to have been so directly instrumental in forcing him away, by sending him word, that if he staid his life would be in danger: that for this notice and advice the king owned himself indebted to him for his life now, as before that he was not excluded: that to this his lordship replied, the king had done ill by him, in sending him a messenger to the prince, and going away before he could return: that to this she returned, his lordship was not to say that to her, who actually knew he first sent him away, and was then angry because he went: that then my lord complained to her of the king's never sending for him till the prince was landed: that this also she contradicted, by observing that his lordship knew her to be privy to frequent invitations he had from the king, and that he might have had his own terms long before, if he had not stood so aloof: that she then remonstrated to him, that though he was so deeply at present embarked in another interest, he could not be well too cautious; for that the Earl of Danby would most certainly get the start of him, and play him the same in this court, Lord Sunderland had in the other; that all they were now doing, tottered upon an uncertain foundation; that Scotland would most assuredly choose her own king; that Ireland was probably lost and gone, the Lord Deputy Tyrconnel being there at the head of an army of 40,000 men; and that England herself was much divided, and in great distraction; with much more to the

same effect: that his lordship himself confessed there were but small hopes of a lasting peace from this settlement, though by far the best that could be formed at this time of the day; and that as he was well aware of the great interest she had with the king, he hoped she would upon occasion be his friend, as he would be hers whenever she might stand in need of him. The truth is, she dealt more roundly with him than any body else could have ventured to do with so great a man; but his lordship knew her well, and was prepared for all she had to say; telling me himself, it was but prudence to lend an ear to everybody.

There were most certainly great and violent discontents at this time, and the causes thereof were these: the prince had declared he had no design upon the crown, and now sought it all he could: he came to settle the protestant religion, and yet brought over 4000 papists with him in his army; a number not far short of what the king had in his; but then the former were foreigners; the latter, for the most part, English: public declaration had been made that the birth of the Prince of Wales was false or suppositious: that there was a private treaty made with France to enslave England; that the murder of the late king and of the Earl of Essex would be amply made out; and yet nothing of all this appeared, excepting some small circumstances relating to the Earl of Essex: then, the prince kept his Dutch forces in town, while the English were marched off to remote quarters; his highness declared he intended to keep his own men here, and to send ours to Holland and Ireland; the Princess Anne of Denmark was postponed in the succession; several noblemen were disappointed of posts and preferments they deservedly expected for joining with his highness, because they would not vote so readily for him as he imagined; in short, the letters his majesty sent to the *two houses*, were not so much as opened; and trade

(the Dutch being a frugal people) seemed to be much abated in London, to what it had been in the king's time. These were the causes of the discontents that now broke out and appeared.

On the 11th, the two houses having agreed upon a list of grievances and usurpations, and the Princess of Orange being now safe arrived; they both in a body attended their highnesses on the 12th, who sat in two chairs of state, in the banqueting-house, Whitehall; where the speaker of the house of lords having read their grievances and desired redress, at the same time made them an offer of the crowns of England, France, and Ireland, with all the dependencies and dominions thereunto belonging. The prince in a short speech told them, he did accept of the same, and would do all he could for the preservation of their liberties; and then went away with the princess; while the heralds and several of the nobility proceeded to proclaim them king and queen, in the usual form. The remainder of the day was spent in joy and acclamation; though some there were who had but a sorrowful countenance in the midst thereof.

The chief of the articles the convention demanded redress of, were; suspension of the laws, of their execution by the king, without the consent of parliament; the pretended power to dispense with laws; the court of ecclesiastical commissioners; the raising of money by prerogative; the keeping up a standing force in times of peace, without the consent of parliament; the obstructions made to the free choice of members to represent the people; the bars to freedom of speech in parliament; and the imposition of excessive bail, or fines. The houses then desired the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be suppressed, and the two following taken in their stead: "I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties King William and Queen

Mary; so help me God." "I *A. B.* do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, 'that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope 'or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed 'or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever:' and I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, or state, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or civil, within this realm; so help me God."

The days following, the houses being adjourned for some time, were taken up in congratulations to the new king, whose numbers, on this occasion, were unspeakable; in naming and swearing a new privy-council; by whose advice, his majesty began first with appointing the great officers of the court and the kingdom; while the grand expectation was, who would have the preference, Hallifax or Danby. The latter certainly hoped to be lord-treasurer; but the former assured me, he was disappointed, and obliged to take up with the presidency of the council; a place of great honour and credit, but very small profit; while Hallifax himself was made lord privy seal, of his own choice; an office of great trust, and worth full three thousand pounds a year. Before this was publicly known, his lordship told me Danby was down in the mouth, and would not suffer his neighbours to be a little quiet about him, and that for his own part, as they yet stood seemingly fair together, he would give him no just occasion of offence.

The king being thus seated in the throne, the great business was to procure such a parliament as would confirm what the convention had done; and because a new election might carry some hazard with it, or, as was pretended, might be the loss of time, when the *exigencies of* the state required such immediate dis-

patch; it was, after great disputes between the lawyers, as to the legality of the thing, and warm debates in both houses, agreed that the convention should be converted into a parliament; which was accordingly done on the 23d, by a bill framed for that purpose; which having first passed the house of lords, was transmitted down to the commons; who having passed the same, it was at length offered to the royal assent, which was granted of course.

And thus was a parliament obtained; after an extraordinary manner, it must be confessed; but being thus constituted, they proceeded to prepare several bills, and particularly one for a comprehension, and another for the toleration of protestant dissenters; which being moved by Lord Nottingham in the house of peers on the 28th, was seconded by some bishops, though more out of fear than inclination; and a third for the raising of 400,000 pounds by a tax upon land.

And now Lord Arran, who had been a little before assaulted in Leicester-fields by eight ruffians, and had, at a meeting of the Scotch nobility in London, proposed to recall King James, was committed prisoner to the Tower; and many of the same nobility being on the point of setting forward for the convention in their kingdom, were stopped. The same day I dined with the Earl of Danby, who treated me with more intimacy and freedom than I expected; his lordship said he had made a fair report of me to the king, when he gave him an account of the surprisal of York; but I found him extremely cooled with regard to affairs, as now managed. He said, that being embarked with his all, he was sorry to see things no better conducted; that Ireland was in a manner become invincible, by our neglect of sending forces thither before now; that with regard to this, and other material points, equally unheeded, he had been pressing with the king to a degree even of incivility; that he had told his majesty, he plainly saw he did all

he could to encourage the presbyterians and to dishearten the church, which could not but be absolutely prejudicial both to himself and the government; though he at the same time observed, that his majesty interfered but little in councils, being prevented therefrom partly by inclination, and partly by want of health. Indeed the king looked but ill, and the difficulty he laboured under in swallowing, seemed to foretell him a man of short continuance in this world. His lordship farther told me, he had been appointed president of the council quite against his will, after the king had declared he could not give him the staff of treasurer, determined, as he was, that the treasury should be in the hands of commissioners; that he had been offered to be secretary of state and president both at the same time, and that he had declined the first; that all he had asked of the king for himself, was a patent to which he had a right by a former grant, and that he would also be pleased to gratify some gentlemen who had, upon this revolution, joined him in the north; in fine, that the king had told him it would be by no means for his interest to be out of all business; and that he had, in a manner, forced the presidentship upon him. His lordship expressed himself doubtful of the continuance of affairs, as they now stood; and informed me that King James had sent down to him in the north, offering to throw himself into his hands before he went away. To this, he said, his answer was, by Charles Bertie, who brought the message, that his own force, which he depended upon in the north, was not sufficient to trust to; but that if his majesty would bring a considerable party with him, and come without his papists, he would sooner lose his life than he should suffer the least injury; but that the king having no mind to part with his Romans, would not come. His lordship then said, that if the king would but quit his papists, it might possibly not be too late yet for him. He then observed, that the Duke of

Gordon, a papist, and governor of Edinburgh-castle, the only magazine in Scotland, who was lately ready and willing to surrender it to any body, now held it out obstinately for King James; and that the discontents in England grew daily greater and greater. He then reflected on Lord Hallifax, the king, and all about him, as most strangely infatuated with notions of their own security; and particularly animadverted on the last-mentioned lord for insisting with such violence, in a speech of his, that the prince should be intitled legal and rightful king of this realm, (which I suppose the Lord Hallifax did with a view of continuing the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to obviate all scruple about taking the new), saying it was mere nonsense; for that, had the Prince of Wales been made king, he could never have been deemed our lawful sovereign while his father lived. But his lordship nevertheless appeared very serious and urgent about the legality of taking the new oaths, and condemned the bishops for their squeamishness in that respect, though they themselves had had so large a hand in bringing about this great and extraordinary change; and thereupon quoted Lord Nottingham's speech, who, in the house of lords, had observed, that though he had never in the least consented to this revolution, but had with all his might opposed the prince's accession, as contrary to law; yet since his highness was here, and we must owe our protection to him as king *de facto*, he thought it but just and legal to swear allegiance to him. I have been the more exact in the particulars of this conversation, to give the better insight into the thoughts of the greatest men upon this occasion; though I wondered his lordship would venture to be so very undisguised with me; but he was sure I would not betray him, though even to Lord Hallifax.

The very same day, after several attempts of the sort, the Marquis of Hallifax, now again lord privy-seal,

presented me to the king, having before requested him that a young son of mine might have my company, and that he might be excused from duty a year or two, on account of his education; but his majesty thought it an ill precedent, and would give no ear to it. Having kissed his hand, I told him I had had the honour of a trust upon me from the late king to the very last, having been a stranger to his designs till I saw them in execution, and that I could not then, in honour or justice, comply with them; but that I was a firm protestant, and had upon that account been a sufferer in my estate; concluding, that I should be strictly faithful to my duty wheresoever I served. My Lord Hallifax then desired I might keep my company without paying any attendance, to which I subjoined, "If you have resolved to take away my two governments of York and Burlington, I hope you will not expect I should wait on a single company." His majesty said, "No; he did not expect attendance from me." Which was all that passed.

On the 1st of March, I was told by a lady whom King James had trusted with some seals and jewels, that his majesty had written her word to put them into the hands of a certain person he sent for them. She shewed me the letter, which was dated the 17th of February, new-stile; whereby I understood that he was to set out for Ireland as the very next day, and that he depended upon his old friends to assist him in his cause. This lady told me the French King had supplied him with a great treasure of money, and 6000 Swiss protestants: that he intended to go through Ireland for Scotland, there to call a parliament, instead of the proposed convention; and that thence he would march into England, and put himself entirely into the hands of the protestant interest. She added, that as she had a friendship for the lord privy-seal, she had a mind to disclose herself to him, if with any safety she might do

so. I told her I would speak to his lordship that very night, and let her know farther.

Having an opportunity of speaking to him accordingly, I failed not to be as good as my word; though I must own, the topic being of so nice and tender a sort, I did it with great caution. However, I gave him plainly to understand, that the chief motive which induced the lady to desire a meeting with him, was to impart to him what might be for his own good, and the service of the public. Hereupon he began to be more free and open with me than he had hitherto been, on this chapter; and I told him, in general, that great designs were on foot: he said he believed it, and that though men seemed to be for the present interest, as most prevalent, it was not altogether discreet to venture too far; that if matters really were as I had said, it was but safe to carry it fair with those in the opposition, and to let some people know he spoke always with great respect of King James; that if we came to blows, it was uncertain who would strike hardest; and that he should be glad to meet the lady at my house, whenever she pleased. But his lordship, however, said all imaginable care would be taken to ward off any danger that might threaten us; that an army of 20,000 men would be presently raised; that all suspicious persons would be secured, the parliament intending to invest the king with a power to imprison whom he pleased, and to keep them in safe custody till they came to a trial; and in fine, that the parliament would most plentifully furnish the king for the prosecution of the war. At this time several lords and gentlemen of both houses withdrew to their several countries; and I was told that some who were outwardly great friends to the present government, were treating for terms on the other side; which I communicated to his lordship, and particularly made mention of some he little suspected. Whereupon his lordship said, that if King James was

actually driving on at the rate reported, the papists would certainly contrive some how or other to assassinate or kill King William, well knowing what a task it would be to defend the crown on the head of a woman; with much more to the same effect.

I waited on Lord Belassis, first commissioner of the treasury under the late king; who told me, that though he was himself a papist, he had been quite averse to the measures which had been taken to promote the catholic religion; but that his counsel never had weight, the warm-ones having insinuated to the king that it came from a man old and timorous, who, having a great estate, did not care to run any hazard of it. He then observed, that as there was such a number of great men combined in this revolt, it was almost impossible to think the king, being a papist as he was, should ever again be restored; but that if he would but be a protestant, it would certainly happen in a very short time. This lord was very deservedly esteemed one of the wisest men of his party.

Meanwhile, (March 3), the two houses were at some stand about the taking of the new oaths. The commons made scarce any scruple to swear; but some of the lords refused so to do, and a great number of bishops, conceiving they could not lawfully comply, seeing they had before engaged themselves under oaths to King James; and even those who did comply, did it as a local and temporary duty naturally resulting from the protection they owed to King William and Queen Mary. This day Lord Hallifax met the lady I just now mentioned to have received a letter from King James: she dealt very frankly with him, but durst not tell him all she knew. However, he desired her to be his friend if any alteration of affairs should by any means be brought to pass.

Now the two houses had, some days before, voted to stand by King William and Queen Mary with their

lives and fortunes; the commons had completed the bill for laying a tax upon land, and deliberated on other ways for levying of money for the crown, as well to raise men, as to supply the loss of that branch of the revenue called hearth-money, which they were, by an act for that purpose, taking quite away, as troublesome to collect, and oppressive in its nature; while the fears greatly and greatly increased, that King James was actually in Ireland, and that Scotland would not fail to take his part: wherefore commissions were given out for the raising of 10,000 foot, and twenty shillings advance allowed to every man: but notwithstanding this encouragement, and though the colonels were most of them men of quality and great interest, it was much apprehended the intended troops would not be easily collected together. The French King had, for his Irish expedition, furnished King James with a squadron of fourteen men of war, six lesser frigates, and three fireships, all well manned and fitted; as also with a sum of 200,000*l.* in ready money, and 50,000 pistoles as a present for his pocket, together with plate, tents, and a most royal and splendid equipage. He assisted him also with eight experienced field-officers, one hundred of inferior note, a guard of one hundred Swiss, a band of skilful pioneers, 15,000 of his own natural subjects, arms for 40,000 men more, cannon and ammunition in a great abundance, and over and above, made him an offer of 15,000 of his French troops; but King James excused himself upon this head, saying "he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." In the midst of this threatening danger, Lord Hallifax told me the commons were still bent upon pursuing him and Lord Danby; and that some of them had declared they would give no more money till the king had dismissed them, and some other of his officers; but, said his lordship, the king is not to be wrought upon as they

imagine; he is very well able to defend himself. They were angry with this nobleman for advising King Charles II. to take away the charter of the city of London, and for opposing the bill of exclusion. But I told him it was quite foolish for men who had raised a new fabric, immediately to pull down the main support of it. His lordship said he was very little solicitous whether they succeeded in their attempt or not, and that it would be no great mortification to him if he did surrender his place. His lordship then begged of me to endeavour a reconciliation between him and a lady I had formerly brought to him about some business wherein she thought herself ill used; for that she had a good interest with King James.

There seemed now to be great discontents among all sorts of men; affairs looked somewhat embroiled; and on the 13th of March I heard Lord Privy-Seal say, that in the posture the nation now stood, the King (James) if but a protestant, could not be kept out four months; nay, Lord Danby went farther, and averred, that if he would but give us satisfaction as to our religion, as he easily might, it would be very hard to make head against him: sayings which I thought very extraordinary to fall from such great men, and of the times too. A few days afterwards, (on the 17th), Lord Dunbarton's regiment, which he had long since brought out of France, and was now quartered at Ipswich, being all Scotch, and consisting of 1300 men, chose rather to march off in a body with their arms and four pieces of cannon, towards Scotland, than obey orders, which were to embark and sail for Holland. Lord Privy-Seal doing me the honour of a visit this day, told me the king had sent two regiments of Dutch horse, and one of dragoons, after them; that if the Scotch regiment had done this without confederacy, they were all lost; but that if any other of our forces were in the secret, and under *engagement* to join and support them, there might be

danger in the thing. I now perceived his lordship to be very uneasy that Danby, under pretence of illness, so much absented himself from business; and very much displeased that some, very little qualified, had so wonderfully, by his means, got into posts of consequence; and particularly that Lord Willoughby, a very young man, and quite a stranger to business, should be the chancellor of the exchequer. I told his lordship, I wondered much more that Lord Mordaunt, who never saw a hundred pounds together of his own, should pretend to be the first commissioner of the treasury: I then dealt very freely with him as to the apparent uncertainty of the times; desired him to be cautious and circumspect, and assured him I wished his safety and his family's, as much as my own. His lordship then observed, among other things, that the king used no arts; to which I replied, "that, in my opinion, some arts were necessary in our government." "I think so too," said he; "we act a little too plainly." I acquainted his lordship with some particulars which caused a murmuring in the town, and of some which caused the same in the country; whereupon he said, "Come, Sir John; we have wives and children, we must consider them, and not venture too far." He then proceeded to intimate, that if a change should happen, there would be a general pardon; though, said he, "I hear there is one which creeps up and down, wherein I am excepted, but (said he) as you know I gave you some oblique hints of what was likely to be brought about, (though so obscure that I must own I did not take them), so you must let me know what you hear on the other side." And indeed I loved him so well, that I was always ready enough to communicate to him whatever I heard, relating either to the public or his own private service, provided I did thereby no prejudice to any particular person, or incurred the guilt of betraying what was told me in pure confidence.

On the 22d, the lord privy-seal told me the rebels (meaning the Scotch regiment) had submitted themselves to the king's mercy; that their officers would have persuaded them to fight, though the Dutch were four times their number; and that they were in confederacy with others, who, as it happened, did not dare to lift up their heads. His lordship continued, that there were now great hopes of Scotland; and indeed the kirk party, which declared for King William, was by much the strongest there. King James appeared too late in Ireland; but he had this to plead, the winds would not permit him to stir out of Brest sooner than he did. The church of England was now furiously driven at by some in both houses; King William being seemingly a greater friend to Calvinism. In the house of lords it was strongly debated on the 23d, and particularly by the lord privy-seal, (which lost him some credit), that the reception of the Sacrament should be no longer a part of the test, as required by the statute of Charles II.; and in the house of commons it was stiffly contended, that the king in his coronation oath should not particularly bind himself to the church of England as by law established; but both these points being carried in favour of the church, evinced her interest to be stronger than any other in parliament, and would, as it was thought, induce the king to court her a little more than he had done.

The affairs of all Europe were now seemingly at a stand, though preparations were every-where making for war; the empire was mustering up all her quotas against France on the one hand, and the Turk on the other; Spain betrayed a willingness to side with the emperor; Sweden, Holland, and England, were ready to do the same; while Denmark seemed to be fixed to a neutrality. The pope was still in anger with France, though she did all she could to mollify him, pretending to blow up the flames of a religious war; but this was

not to serve the purpose at present, his holiness thinking the King of France was grown too big for his neighbours, and that therefore regard was to be had chiefly now for his temporals; the church was out of the question, the world was now uppermost, and conscience was pusillanimity and indolence, according to the known and avowed maxims of the Roman creed.

It happened this day (March 28), that I met with the Bishop of St. David's, who asked if I thought he might safely take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; he being one of the prelates that had hitherto stood out, and were now cited to appear before the house of lords. I told him it were fittest for me to be advised by him in such a case, and that certainly his own conscience could not but dictate to him right: but I found he was already resolved, and accordingly he went the next day and complied. Meanwhile the archbishop was obstinate in his refusal, and would not so much as repair to the house of lords, disavowing the authority either of the king or the parliament. The lords sent his grace a letter, admonishing him to come to the house; but he wrote to excuse himself, by an answer directed, not to the lord privy-seal, or the speaker of the house of lords, but to the Lord Marquis of Hallifax. The house voted this answer to be not satisfactory, but thought it unadvisable to pursue the point too far, sensible of the ill blood that had been set on float, by the late severity of usage towards the episcopal order. A day or two afterwards, the church of England carried a second vote in the house of commons, and indeed it was high time for her sons to exert themselves, the dissenters having not only prevailed that the oaths meant for her security, some prayers in the liturgy, and certain ceremonies should be altered or dispensed with; but a motion had likewise been made that there might be some alteration in the very creed. In a few days afterwards, a very extraordinary debate arose in both houses

between the dissenters and the members of the church; the former pushing their act of comprehension and toleration farther than the latter were willing it should go. They were almost equally matched, and sometimes one carried a vote in both houses, and sometimes the other.

On the 1st of April, a number of regiments, though many of them were unarmed, unclothed, and in want of pay to clear off their quarters, were ordered to march northward; it being past all doubt that King James was now in Ireland, and intended for Scotland, though the kirk party in the convention of that kingdom were for opposing him. Money was at this time very scarce at court, and yet great preparations were daily making for the coronation of King William and Queen Mary. But though necessaries were certainly wanting for the army, the court and the due support of the government, it was not that the parliament was backward in giving, but the money could not be raised soon enough, the city refusing to advance any money upon the acts that were passed; for great discontents were visible to every eye; which seemed rather to increase daily than to diminish.

A few days afterwards, (April 7), I saw Lord Privy-Seal, who told me that if the church of England was a sufferer, she might thank herself for it, her pretences being too large; that the commons were so slow in their proceedings, that it looked as if they thought the whole world was confined to Westminster; that the king also was very dilatory, to the great hindrance of business, though dispatch could at no time be ever more required; his lordship continued, that there was a necessity for acting with so many fools; that they alone were wise who had nothing to do; and moreover, that he had heard there were some Irish landed in Scotland; that Scotland, however, would give them but a cool reception; that King James had nothing to *depend on* here but the army, which would be so disposed

of as to be unable to do anything for him; and that if he came not very soon, he would be disappointed of this his only hope: he concurred with me, that the Earl of Danby had procured the government of Hull as a place of retreat, where he might make his own terms in case of a change of the times; and assured me he was more afraid of the consequences of King William's cough, which increased upon him with great violence, than of anything else. I must confess I, upon this occasion, temporised a little, it being neither safe nor prudent to be too open with a privy-counsellor, and so great a minister, especially as I had been guilty of freedoms with his lordship to little or no purpose; though whenever he asked me my opinion, I never failed to deal uprightly with him.

But now let us take a view of the coronation of our new king and queen; a splendid sight as usual, which took place on the 11th of April, 1689: the procession to the Abbey was quite regular, though not so complete in the number of nobility, as at the two last solemnities of the same kind. Particular care was had of the house of commons, who had a part prepared for them to sit in, both in the church and in the hall. They had tables spread for them at the banquet, to which I, among other friends, had the honour of being admitted, as well as to be with them throughout the whole of the show; so that I had a very fair opportunity of seeing all that past. The Bishop of London crowned them both, assisted by the Bishop of Salisbury, the late Doctor Burnet, who preached the sermon; and two others. A few days afterward, being with Lord Privy-Seal, the Bishop of Salisbury came in, and complained heavily of the slow proceedings of the house of commons; saying, the Dutch would clap up a peace with France, if they did not mend their pace; and observed that the church of England was in the fault, and expressed himself as if he thought they meant a kindness to King

James by their method of procedure. Lord Privy-Seal agreed with him in his sentiments, and added, that the church people hated the Dutch, and had rather turn papists than receive the presbyterians among them; but that, on the other hand, these were to the full as rank and inveterate against those, and would marr all their business, by their inadvertence with regard to their bill of comprehension, and their ill-timing of other bills; in short, that they would disgust those from whom they looked for indulgence. They were both angry with the commons' address to the king the day before, desiring him to support and defend the church of England according to his former declaration, and to call a convocation of the clergy, which the bishop said would be the utter ruin of the comprehension scheme. In fine, the marquis took notice, that, at the rate we proceeded, the government could not but be very short lived.

King James was all this while in Ireland; the convention of Scotland opposing him with might and main and declaring the throne of their kingdom to be vacant; presently after we had advice that they had voted William and Mary to be king and queen of Scotland, converted their convention into a parliament, and invited the English forces on their borders to come into their kingdom, to be ready to assist them against King James and his friends; but at the same time, that they had prepared certain conditions, and drawn up a list of certain grievances, for the king to redress and assent to; and particularly that episcopacy should no longer have being in Scotland, and that the king should, with regard to them, embrace the Presbyterian persuasion. The Duke of Gordon, however, still kept the castle of Edinburgh.

At home the parliament was taken up with raising of money; and the commons addressed the king to declare war with France, and promised him all the

needful supplies. But great heats broke out between the two houses about the oath-bill, the lords being willing to excuse the bishops, convinced that several of them would forfeit their sees rather than comply; while the commons urged that no soul should be excused. But as widely as they for the present differed about this, they concurred in the bill for the toleration of all protestant dissenters. On the 20th, the king gave a favourable answer to the address which reminded him of his promises to the church of England, and moved him for a convocation. A day or two after he returned answer to the commons' address, that he would declare war with France; telling them he complied with their request, and the rather, as the French king had in a manner begun; and assured them that whatever money they gave, should be faithfully applied to the desired effect.

About this time a very sad accident happened, which for a while was the discourse of the whole town: Mr. Temple, son to Sir William Temple, who had married a French lady with 20,000 pistoles; a sedate and accomplished young gentleman, who had lately by King William been made secretary of war; took a pair of oars, and drawing near the bridge, leapt into the Thames and drowned himself, leaving a note behind him in the boat, to this effect: "My folly in undertaking what I could not perform, whereby some misfortunes have befallen the king's service, is the cause of my putting myself to this sudden end: I wish him success in all his undertakings, and a better servant." A dangerous thing it is for some constitutions to give way to discontent, and imaginary notion: but, not to digress on this melancholy subject; the parliament proceeded to raise money, but upon terms, and persons, that gave great dissatisfaction. The poll was quite strict, scarce a soul being exempted therefrom, but such as received alms; the house consenting to a grant

of no less than four millions for one year only. And now Lord Hallifax told me that the Marquis of Caermarthen's retirement into the country, his pretences to be sick, and his so seldom appearing at court, instilled fresh jealousies of him; that he had heard he should say, things could not long continue thus; that his relations and friends were very dangerous in their discourse, and that he himself was very open; that he found this new marquis had no mind to be inward or intimate with him; that he supposed his lordship might imagine he had kept him at a distance from the treasurer's staff; but that, imagine what he would, he did not altogether deserve it; that, of all men in the world, the king never would have invested him with that office, nor, indeed, with any other that was very considerable, as he would find, if affairs but held out till September. Hereupon I acquainted his lordship with some grounds that made it suspected the president was discontented. His lordship then continued, that for his own part he found the king very well affected towards himself; that his majesty did not only carry it fair to him, personally, but that from third hands he had it, that the king used very kind expressions of him behind his back; for that he gave him but very little trouble either on account of himself, or of other people, while the lord president knew no end of his importunities. This urged me to say, that I did not know what his lordship might thereby be a loser with the king, but that he gained much with others I was certain; for that it was a common saying, no lord used his good offices for his countrymen but the lord president; and this I observed, because the lord privy-seal, though otherwise very kind and free with me, did not espouse my interest as I expected he would. But his lordship farther told me, that the king being so very inaccessible as he was, and confining himself so to Hampton, when there was such *absolute* need of the most stirring action, was the

destruction of all business. That he had desired his majesty but to lie sometimes in town, and that his answer was, it was not to be done except his lordship desired to see him dead; which, said my lord, was a very short answer. To conclude; he proceeded to say, that if the king survived this summer, which he thought he fairly might, notwithstanding his consumptive disorder, or escaped the murderous hands of the papists, he doubted not but the government would stand firm, though it devolved to the queen singly; but that, however, the concern he had for his family would naturally tempt him to act with all the moderation that might be; that upon this consideration it was he had taken no great or additional places, no new honours, no blue ribbon, as others had done.

The next day I was to go to Hampton-court, where his lordship was to meet me, and present me to the king before I went into the country. His lordship repeated his promises to do for me what he could, but said, it would be but discretion to let two or three months pass over-head, before I pressed matters too much, to the end we might the better see what was likely to become of things.

FINIS

NOTES

P. 7. *Cardinal Richelieu.* Armand Jean du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642), the founder of the French Academy.

P. 14. *The Prince de Condé.* The Condés were a collateral branch of the Bourbon family. Le Grand Condé, Louis II., Prince de Condé, and a great soldier, was born in 1621 and died in 1686. Bossuet preached one of his famous funeral orations at his death.

P. 15. *Pantler.* The person in charge of the pantry.

P. 16. *Harbinger.* One appointed to make ready for the reception of guests.

P. 16. *Duke of Anion. I.e.* Duc d'Anjou.

P. 23. *Pell-mell.* The name given to an alley or place where the game of pell-mell or pall-mall was played.

P. 25. *Ashlard.* Constructed of ashlar or squared stones.

P. 28. *Dige or rampire.* Rampart or bulwark.

P. 33. *One of the cautionary towns.* Towns given as a pledge, security, or guarantee.

P. 34. *Christiana, late Queen of Sweden.* An interesting account of this remarkable person (1626–1689) will be found in Doran's *Monarchs retired from Business.*

P. 36. *Their horses are trussed.* Thick-set or sturdy.

P. 38. *Interessed.* Eager to draw attention to themselves.

P. 42. *Anne. . . . pottle.* Anne, a hogshead of wine; pottle, four pints, the contents of a large tankard.

P. 42. *Pell.* John Pell (1611–1685), the mathematician. He diplomatically represented England in Switzerland 1654–8.

P. 44. *Lucius.* The legendary first Christian king in Britain. See Geoffrey of Monmouth.

P. 46. *Except from democracy.* Probably "expect from democracy" would be the correct reading.

P. 50. *Volories of birds.* Flights of birds.

P. 52. *Mr. Finch.* Sir John Finch (1626–1682), physician. He was knighted by Charles II. in 1661, and lies buried in Christ's College, Cambridge.

P. 59. *Deboard.* To go to excess.

P. 60. *Peter Aretin.* The celebrated Italian satirical poet (1492–1557). His libellous writings earned for him the name of "Scourge of Princes."

P. 74. *Politianus.* Angelus Politian, Italian scholar, and tutor to the children of Lorenzo the Magnificent (1454–1494). He was professor of Greek and Latin at Florence.

P. 77. *Signior Bernard Gascoigne.* Sir Bernard Gascoigne (1614–1687), otherwise Bernardo Guasconi, diplomatist and soldier, of Florentine birth. He fought in England for Charles I., and was created Sir Bernard Gascoigne in 1661. His *Memoirs* were published in 1886.

P. 80. *Vailing.* Dropping or lowering in token of respect.

P. 90. *Pastor Fido.* A pastoral drama (1585) by Giovanni Battista Guarini, of Ferrara (1537–1612).

P. 95. *Twilts.* Quilts.

P. 112. *Bruno.* The founder of the order of Carthusian monks (1030–1101).

P. 119. *Burgraves.* The burgrave was formerly the governor of a fortified town or castle.

P. 123. *Half-moons.* Redans or outworks in the form of a demi-lune, used in the defence of the approaches to a city.

P. 127. *Mr. Howard.* Philip Thomas Howard (1629–1694), Dominican. He was created cardinal-priest in 1675.

P. 127. *Don Jean of Austria.* The comedian was Barbara Blomberg of Ratisbon. The story of Don John (1547–1578) has been ably told by Sir W. Stirling Maxwell. He was the conqueror of the Turks in the battle of Lepanto (1571), in which Cervantes was wounded.

P. 127. *Morosity.* Moroseness or sullenness.

P. 128. *Sea-dogs.* The common or harbour seal (*Phoca vitulina*).

P. 136. *Brose.* A Scotch dish, made with milk or water and oatmeal, seasoned with salt and butter.

P. 139. *Cromwell's death.* The date should be September 3.

P. 139. *The Duke of Buckingham.* George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham (1628–1687), married Fairfax's daughter in 1657.

P. 141. *Lord Jermyn.* Henry Jermyn, first Earl of St. Albans (d. 1684), whose name is commemorated in Jermyn Street.

P. 142. *Duke of Ormond.* James Butler, twelfth Earl of Ormonde (1610-1688), was created Duke of Ormonde in 1661.

P. 142. *Earl of Clarendon.* Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1609–1674), the author of the *History of the Rebellion.* His eldest daughter, Anne, married James, Duke of York, in 1660. (See p. 145.)

P. 143. *One Venner.* Thomas Venner, one of the Fifth Monarchy conspirators, executed 1661.

P. 144. *The Countess of Castlemain.* Barbara Villiers (1641–1709), wife of Roger Palmer (d. 1705), who was raised to the peerage as Earl of Castlemaine. She was mistress of Charles II., and was created Duchess of Cleveland in 1670.

P. 145. *Mr. Sydney.* Henry Sidney or Sydney (1641–1704), created Earl of Romney in 1694. Lely painted his portrait.

P. 146. *Prince Rupert.* Duke of Bavaria and, later, Duke of Cumberland (1619–1682), fighter of many battles by sea and land. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

P. 146. *Duke of Albemarle.* George Monck or Monk (1608–1670), first Duke of Albemarle, the restorer of the monarchy.

P. 147. *Lord Southampton.* Thomas Wriothesley (1607–1667) was Lord High Chancellor from 1660 to 1667.

P. 147. *Lord Ashley Cooper.* Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury (1621–1683), Lord Chancellor 1672–3, when he was dismissed. (See p. 158.)

P. 147. *Sir William Coventry.* Politician and friend of Pepys (1628 ?–1686).

P. 147. *Sir Thomas Osborne.* Created Earl of Danby in 1674, and, later, Marquis of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds (1631–1712). He appears often in Reresby's *Memoirs* as statesman and Yorkshireman. He was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1661, M.P. for York in 1665 and Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire 1692–9. He was impeached in 1678 because of the French correspondence (see p. 186), pardoned by Charles II., but still kept imprisoned in the Tower. He was released in 1684, and advocated the cause of William and Mary.

P. 148. *Pomfret. I.e.* Pontefract.

P. 149. *Sir John Coventry.* "The Coventry Act" against mutilation was named from this incident. He died in 1682.

P. 149. *Duke of Monmouth.* James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch (1649–1685), natural son of Charles II. and Lucy Walters. He claimed the crown in 1685, and, after defeat at Sedgemoor (see p. 270), was executed in the Tower.

P. 151. *Earl of Sandwich.* Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich (1625–1672). He was second in command of the fleet on the outbreak of the Dutch war, 1672. In that year the Dutch surprised the fleet, and he was blown up in his ship in Solebay, his body being found near Harwich.

P. 151. *Lord Halifax.* Sir George Savile (1633–1695), Marquis

of Halifax, Lord Privy Seal 1682–5 and 1689–90. He headed the Peers in their appeal to William of Orange to undertake the government and, later, to accept the crown.

P. 151. *Lord Arlington.* Henry Bennet, first Earl of Arlington, (1618–1685). A member of the Cabal administration.

P. 151. *Lord Clifford.* Thomas Clifford, first Baron Clifford of Chudleigh (1630–1673). A confidant of Lord Arlington and a concealed Romanist.

P. 152. *Sir Edward Spraig.* Sir Edward Spragge (d. 1673), admiral of the blue. He was drowned in the action against Cornelis Tromp.

P. 153. *For* January 1774 *read* January 1674.

P. 153. *Duchess of Portsmouth.* Louise Renée de Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth and Aubigny (1649–1734). She came over from France with Charles's sister and became one of his mistresses. Her descendants are the Dukes of Richmond and Gordon.

P. 154. *For* April 1775 *read* April 1665.

P. 154. *Lady Shrewsbury.* Dressed as a horseboy, she is stated to have held the horse of her seducer, the Duke of Buckingham, during the duel in which he mortally wounded her husband.

P. 154. *Sir John Fag.* Sir John Fagg, commissioner in the trial of Charles I. and M.P. for Steyning, Sussex, from 1661 to his death in 1701.

P. 156. *Duchess of York.* Anne Hyde (1637–1671), who was privately married to James, Duke of York, was the mother of Mary (wife of William III.) and (Queen) Anne.

P. 159. *Imposthume.* Abscess.

P. 167. *Lord Sunderland.* Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland (1640–1702). His mother was Dorothy Spencer, Waller's "Sacharissa." He has been described as "the craftiest, most rapacious and most unscrupulous of all the politicians of his age."

P. 168. *Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale.* John Maitland, second Earl and first Duke of Lauderdale (1616–1682), Secretary for Scottish Affairs, 1660–80. His wife, Elizabeth Murray, was one of the beauties of the Court of Charles II.

P. 169. *Mr. Secretary Williamson.* Sir Joseph Williamson (1633–1701), diplomatist, and President of the Royal Society, 1677–80.

P. 169. *Lord Chief Justice Rainsford.* Sir Richard Rainsford (1605–1680).

P. 170. *Lord Yarmouth.* Sir Robert Paston (1631–1683), second Baronet and first Earl of Yarmouth.

P. 172. *For* 2nd of November *read* 12th of January.

P. 172. *For* 21st of November *read* 28th of January.

NOTES

P. 173, line 1. *For* engage to lay down *read* not engage to lay down.

P. 180. *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.* Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey (1621–1678), Justice of Peace at Westminster. A few weeks after receiving the depositions of Titus Oates and Tonge in the matter of the so-called "Popish Plot" he was murdered on Primrose Hill. Two Catholics and a Protestant were executed for the crime, though in all probability they were innocent. The murder seems to have been a move in the game, in order to make King and country believe in the perjuries of Oates.

P. 180. *Doctor Oates.* Titus Oates (1649–1705), creator of the "Popish Plot," and thereby murderer of between thirty and forty innocent people. Though condemned to be flogged, pilloried and imprisoned for life, he was soon released.

P. 180. *Doctor Tongue.* Israel Tonge, or Tongue (1621–1680), divine, and dupe of Oates.

P. 180. *Coleman's affair.* Edward Coleman (d. 1678), Catholic, and one of Oates's victims.

P. 183. *Ralph Montague.* First Duke of Montague (1638?–1709). He intrigued for the fall of Lord Danby, and his papers (see p. 184 *et seq.*) caused Danby to be impeached.

P. 183. *Bedloe.* William Bedloe (1650–1680), young sharper. See his *Narrative . . . . of the Horrid Popish Plot.*

P. 187. *For* Stafford *read* Strafford.

P. 189. *Serjeant Gregory.* Sir William Gregory (1624–1696), Serjeant-at-law 1677, knighted 1679. He was made a judge of the King's Bench in 1689.

P. 193. *For* April 1779 *read* April 1679.

P. 196. *Sir Robert Howard.* Auditor of the Exchequer, privy councillor and dramatist (1626–1698), the Sir Positive At-all of Shadwell's *Sullen Lovers* and co-author (with Dryden) of *The Indian Queen.*

P. 199. *Sir Thomas Armstrong.* Royalist (1624?–1684). He was implicated later in the Rye House Plot and executed.

P. 199. *Lord Feversham.* Louis Duras or Durfort, Earl of Feversham (1640?–1709). He was in command of James II.'s army at Sedgemoor, 1655.

P. 200. *Lords Russel, Cavendish.* William, Lord Russell (1639–1683), "the patriot," who was charged with complicity in the Rye House Plot and beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields. William Cavendish, first Duke of Devonshire (1640–1707), who was styled Lord Cavendish till 1684. He built Chatsworth, and took part in the invitation to William of Orange to come over.

P. 202, line 28. *For* signed *read* signing.

P. 203, line 5. *For* who was *read* who were.

P. 203. *Bill of Exclusion.* The Bill was introduced for the exclusion of Catholics from the throne. Shaftesbury strongly advocated this, and a Bill for depriving James of his right to the crown, and for devolving it on the next Protestant in the line of succession. The Bill passed by a large majority in the House of Commons.

P. 205. *Lord Stafford.* William Howard, first Viscount Stafford (1614–1680). He was accused by Oates and others of treason and beheaded.

P. 205. *Dugdale.* Stephen Dugdale (1640?–1683), who pretended to knowledge of the so-called Popish Plot.

P. 205. *Turberville.* Edward Turberville (1648?–1681), informer.

P. 207. *Dr. Gunning* (1614–1684). Bishop of Ely, a famous Royalist preacher. He became successively Master of Clare College (1660) and of St. John's College (1661), Cambridge, and Bishop of Ely (1675–84). Ancestor of the famous beauties, Maria, Countess of Coventry and the Duchess of Hamilton and of Argyll.

P. 208. *Mr. Hyde.* Laurence Hyde, first Earl of Rochester (1641–1711), second son of the first Earl of Clarendon. He was Lord High Treasurer under James II., 1685, and was one of the party who negotiated with William of Orange. He is the Hashai of Dryden's *Absolom and Achitophel.*

P. 211. *Fitzharris.* Edward Fitzharris (1648?–1681), impeached and executed for advocating the deposition of Charles II.

P. 211. *Sir Thomas Littleton* (1647?–1710). Whig M.P. and Speaker of the House of Commons, 1698–1700.

P. 215. *Lord Howard.* William, third Baron Howard of Escrick (1626?–1694), informer against Sidney and Russell in 1683.

P. 218. *Duke of Grafton.* Henry Fitzroy (1663–1690), son of Charles II. and Barbara Villiers.

P. 222. *Seymour.* Sir Edward Seymour (1633–1708).

P. 222. *Mr. Thynn.* Thomas Thynne of Longleat (1648–1682), known as "Tom of Ten Thousand."

P. 223. *Chairman.* One who helps to carry a sedan chair.

P. 227. *Hicks' Hall.* Formerly in St. John Street, Clerkenwell. It was built in 1612 by Sir Baptist Hicks as a sessions house, and abandoned in 1779. The milestones on the Great North Road were measured from it.

P. 231, line 4. *For* handsomely *read* unhandsomely.

P. 232. *Hearth-money.* A tax levied on hearths. Each hearth was taxed to the amount of two shillings, and the money paid to the poor-rates and to the Church. The tax was abolished in 1688, after having existed from the time of the Conquest.

P. 232, last line. *For* was well *read* being well.

P. 237, line 12. *For* was sorry *read* was not sorry.

P. 239, line 27. *For* laboured *read* laboured under.

P. 240. *Dangerous conspiracy.* The Rye House Plot, a conspiracy to murder Charles II. and his brother, the Duke of York.

P. 241. *Lord Grey.* Thomas Grey, second Earl of Stamford (1654–1720). He was pardoned in 1686 for his connection with the Rye House Plot.

P. 241. *The Earl of Essex.* Arthur Capel (1631–1683). His part in the Monmouth rebellion was betrayed by Lord Howard of Escrick. He was found in the Tower with his throat cut, and it is possible that he committed suicide.

P. 241. *Mr. Goodenough.* Richard Goodenough (*fl.* 1686). He was the Duke of Monmouth's Secretary of State, and, when all was over, turned King's evidence. His fellow-conspirator, Richard Nelthorpe, was executed (1685).

P. 243. *Mr. Secretary Jenkins.* Sir Leoline Jenkins (1623–1685), Secretary of State, 1680–84. He was a munificent benefactor of his old college, Jesus, Oxford.

P. 245. *Mr. Algernon Sydney.* Algernon Sidney (1622–1683), son of the second Earl of Leicester. The Government allowed his vindication of his innocence to be published.

P. 251. *Mr. Godolphin.* Sidney Godolphin, first Earl of Godolphin (1645–1712), who was faithful to James II. to the last.

P. 260. *Ireland.* William Ireland, *alias* Ironmonger (1636–1679), who was executed for his supposed part in the Popish Plot, was educated at St. Omer.

P. 261. *Earl of Argyle.* Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl, executed in 1685 for his share in the Rye House Plot.

P. 261. *Sir John Trevor* (1637–1717). Speaker of the House of Commons in 1685, and from 1690 to 1695.

P. 265. *Bills of mortality.* Reports containing the number of deaths in a certain locality, issued annually or more frequently. In London bills of mortality were first issued during a plague in 1592.

P. 267. *Earl of Dunbarton.* Lord George Douglas, Earl of Dumbarton (1636 ?–1692). He followed the fortunes of James II. in the latter's exile at St. Germain-en-Laye.

P. 271. *Ferguson.* Robert Ferguson (d. 1714), known as "The Plotter." He was one of the main creatures of the Rye House Plot, chaplain in the Duke of Monmouth's army, and pursued many devious courses in later years.

P. 272. *Lady Henrietta Wentworth.* Henrietta Maria, Baroness Wentworth (1657 ?–1686).

P. 276. *Mr. Wharton.* Thomas, first Marquis of Wharton

(1648–1715), with whose name is associated the song "Lilli Burlero, Bullen-a-la" (1687), for which Purcell wrote the music. Joseph Addison was secretary to him when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1708–10.

P. 276, line 24. *For* they said *read* he said.

P. 277. *Mr. Fox.* Sir Stephen Fox (1627–1716), who helped Charles II. to escape after the battle of Worcester; one of the founders of Chelsea Hospital.

P. 277. *Lord Brandon.* Charles Gerard, second Earl of Macclesfield (1659 ?–1701). He was convicted for his share in the Rye House Plot and sentenced to death. He was pardoned in 1687 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

P. 278. *Dartmouth.* George Legge, first Baron Dartmouth (1648–1691), Admiral. He was sent to the Tower for conspiring against William III.

P. 278. *Lord Churchill.* John, first Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722), who, as Lord Churchill, suppressed the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, and later became the conqueror at Blenheim.

P. 280. *Lord Delamere.* Henry Booth (1652–1694), who had previously been committed to the Tower (1683) for his share in the Rye House Plot. He was created Earl of Warrington in 1690.

P. 282. *Mrs. Sidley.* Catharine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester (1657–1717), daughter of Sir Charles Sedley.

P. 283. *Lord Castlemain.* Roger Palmer (1634–1705), husband of Barbara Villiers, later Duchess of Cleveland, Charles II.'s mistress. Palmer was created Earl of Castlemaine to soothe his wife's anger at the marriage of Charles II. He was not welcomed at Rome.

P. 284. *The Chief Justice of that name.* Sir Thomas Jones (d. 1692), Chief Justice of Common Pleas. He tried Lord Russell. He was dismissed from his post for the part he took in the question of dispensing power.

P. 284. *Sir Robert Sawyer.* Pepys' fellow-student at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He acted for the prosecution in the matter of the Rye House Plot trials, Sidney's and Titus Oates's.

P. 285. *Solicitor Finch.* Heneage Finch, first Earl of Aylesford (1647 ?–1719), Solicitor-General, 1679–86. He appeared on behalf of the Seven Bishops in 1688.

P. 285. *Walker.* Obadiah Walker (1616–1699). He professed Romanism when James II. came to the throne, opened a chapel in the college and a printing-press. He was ejected in 1689.

P. 285. *Lord Dover.* Henry Jermyn, first Baron Dover (1636–1708). He followed the fortunes of James II., but later was *reconciled to* William III.

P. 285. *Sir Edward Hales.* He was of Walker's College (see above). He followed James II. to St. Germain, and died in 1695.

P. 286. *Baron Street.* Sir Thomas Street (1626–1696).

P. 286. *Mr. Talbot.* Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel (1630–1691). He commanded James II.'s forces at the battle of the Boyne, 1690.

P. 286. *Mr. Savile.* Henry Savile (1642–1687).

P. 289. *Herbert.* Arthur Herbert, Earl of Carrington (1647–1716). He commanded the fleet that brought William of Orange over.

P. 291. *Lord Bellassis.* John, Baron Belasyse (1614–1689), a soldier of Charles I.

P. 292. *Duke of Somerset.* Charles Seymour, sixth Duke (1662–1748).

P. 292. *Marquis of Winchester.* Charles Paulet (1625?–1699). His "madness" was probably partly feigned; Burnet speaks of him as a "crafty, politic" man.

P. 294. *Doctor Hough.* John Hough (1651–1743), Bishop of Worcester (1717–43). He was reinstated as President of Magdalen in 1688, and the Primacy was offered him in 1715, when Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, but he refused it.

P. 295. *Test and penal laws.* (*a*) *The Test Act* was passed in 1673, by which persons holding any important civil or military office under the crown should sign a declaration against transubstantiation, receive the sacrament according to the custom of the Established Church and subscribe to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The Act was repealed in 1828.

(*b*) *Penal laws.* Laws which imposed a penalty for the commission of certain acts. After the Reformation, Roman Catholics in both England and Ireland were excluded from all important offices of the State, from corporate offices in 1667, the throne in 1689 and from Parliament in 1691. In 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Act was the first great step which reintroduced them to Parliament and to important offices.

P. 296, line 1. *For* repeal for *read* repeal of.

P. 298. *Earl of Oxford.* Aubrey de Vere (1626–1703), twentieth Earl of Oxford, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Essex in 1661. He fought for William III. at the battle of the Boyne.

P. 298, line 21. *For* interest *read* his interest.

P. 298. *Duke of Berwick.* James Fitzjames (1670–1734), son of James, Duke of York (later James II.), and Arabella Churchill. After James's defeat in Ireland the Duke of Berwick fought in various causes on the Continent and was created a Marshal of France.

P. 298. *Earl of Burlington.* Richard Boyle, first Earl (1612–1697).

P. 301, line 13. *For* found *read* bound.

P. 302. *Earl of Huntingdon.* Theophilus Hastings, seventh Earl (1650–1701). He was imprisoned in 1688 for trying to seize Plymouth for James II.

P. 303. *Habeas Corpus* (*habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*). An Act passed in 1679 to compel any person detaining another to produce the body of the prisoner, and to state the cause and date of his capture, and submit the same before a judge or court. It is particularly applicable to illegal detention, or where bail has been wrongfully refused. The Act has been frequently suspended both in England and in Ireland.

P. 304. *Sir Richard Holloway.* One of the judges who tried Sidney and Oates (d. 1695 ?).

P. 304. *Sir John Powell* (1633–1696). He was restored as a judge of the Common Pleas in 1689.

P. 305. *Duke of Norfolk.* Henry Howard, seventh Duke (1655–1701). He was a supporter of William III.

P. 306. *Chargeable.* Expensive or costly.

P. 307. *Lieutenant-Colonel Beaumont.* John Beaumont (d. 1701). He fought for William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne.

P. 307. *Sir —— Thompson.* The name is filled in "Stephen" in Mr. Cartwright's edition.

P. 308, line 6. *For* any company *read* my company.

P. 309. *To call a hall.* To send forth a proclamation for some particular purpose.

P. 310. *Sir Henry Gooderick.* Sir Henry Goodricke (1642–1705), M.P. for Boroughbridge, 1673–9 and 1689–1705.

P. 311. *Lord Preston.* Richard Graham, Viscount Preston (1648–1695). He was one of the Council of Five left by James II. in London in 1688.

P. 314. *Marshal Schomberg.* Frederick Herman, Duke of Schomberg (1615–1690). He came over with William of Orange, commanded the army in Ireland, was killed at the battle of the Boyne and is buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

P. 318. *Jealousy.* Suspicious fear.

P. 321. *Bertie.* A Willoughby d'Eresby family name.

P. 325. *Pen.* William Penn (1644–1718), founder of Pennsylvania. He was sent down from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1661 for nonconformity, and became a Quaker. He is now best known by his *No Cross, No Crown*, which was written in the Tower in 1669. He is buried at Jordans, near Chalfont St. Giles.

P. 326. *Hoy.* A small coasting passenger vessel.

P. 327. *Lord Winchelsea.* Heneage Finch, second Earl *(d. 1689).*

P. 327. *Middleton.* Charles, second Earl of Middleton (1640?–1719), James II.'s Secretary of State, and chief adviser to him when at St. Germain.

P. 327. *Yarmouth.* Sir William Paston, second Earl of Yarmouth (1652–1732). He was Treasurer of the Household, 1686–9.

P. 327. *Lord Peterborough.* Henry Mordaunt, second Earl (1624?–1697). He became a Roman Catholic in 1687.

P. 327. *Lord Salisbury.* James Cecil, fourth Earl (d. 1693).

P. 328. *Duke of Beaufort.* Henry Somerset, first Duke (1629–1700). In the end he was reconciled to William III.

P. 329. *Lord Inchequin.* William O'Brien, second Earl of Inchequin (1638?–1692).

P. 332. *Dr. Burnet.* Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), Bishop of Salisbury, author of a *History of the Reformation in England* (1679–1714) and a *History of His Own Times* (1723–34). He attended Lord Russell in his last moments, and also William III., to whose cause he was ever faithful.

P. 336. *Another venter.* Another womb.

P. 342. *Duke of Gordon.* George Gordon, first Duke (1643–1716). He surrendered Edinburgh Castle in 1689.

P. 347. *Fireships.* These were vessels laden with explosives and combustibles. In time of war they were set on fire and allowed to drift among the enemy's ships.

P. 347. *Pistole.* A gold coin of about sixteen shillings value, formerly current in France and Spain.

P. 355. *Sir William Temple.* Traveller, diplomatist and author (1628–1699). He it was who negotiated the marriage between William and Mary. He is one of the earliest writers of polished English, and will long live in the *Love Letters* Dorothy Osborne addressed to him.

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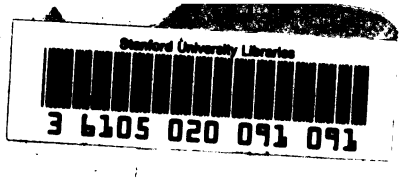

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